

AMERICA

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Chronicle

League of Nations.—The first meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations opened at Geneva, Switzerland, on November 15, with representatives present from

First Meeting of Assembly

forty-one out of the forty-five members, and M. Hymans of Belgium acting as temporary president. The program of the meeting had already been considered by the Council of the League, which will continue its sessions, taking up the organization of a financial and economic commission that is to arrange for an international financial conference, and also discussing the Danzig and Polish-Lithuanian affairs and other matters, such as the question of minorities and mandates. The Secretariat of the League had already drawn up rules of procedure for the Assembly, one of the most important of which is the one which provides for the challenge of the credentials of any representative by another representative, and for the unseating of the representative so challenged by a majority vote of the Assembly. Another rule provides that closure can be effected by a majority vote taken at the request of ten representatives; as a rule, however, the conferences will be public. The combined British delegations have eighteen representatives, so that it is clear that if they care to work together they

can exercise a dominant influence in arranging matters of procedure. The rules of procedure, like other important questions, according to the terms of the Covenant, require a unanimous vote in order to take effect.

The case of Lord Cecil has given rise to considerable comment. When it was announced that he was to represent South Africa, a protest was made by France on the ground that the six votes given to the British Empire were conceded on the supposition that the dominions were separate organizations, and it is overriding one of the principles of the League for a citizen of Great Britain to represent one of the dominions. Despite the protest, Lord Cecil has arrived for the meeting and, unless he is successfully challenged, will act for South Africa.

Already there are signs of two groups. First of these is the group of large nations as against the small nations. The second collection is made up of the British delegations, including Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India and South Africa; the so called French group, made up of France, Belgium, Poland, and possibly Italy; the Scandinavian group, embracing Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Holland, Czecho-Slovakia and Switzerland; and the Spanish group, consisting of Spain and the Latin-American nations. China and Japan will probably vote with the British group; and it is taken for granted that Italy will also do so on many questions.

One of the principal matters to be taken up by the Assembly of the League is the admission of new members. Esthonia, Finland, Georgia, Iceland, Latvia, Lichtenstein, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Monaco, San Marino, Ukraine, and Costa Rica will probably be admitted without difficulty. Austria and Bulgaria have made formal application for admission, and, as there is a general impression among the Allied nations that Austria and Bulgaria have given proof of their intention faithfully to carry out the terms of the treaties of peace, from present indications it does not seem likely that their admission will be opposed. The case of Germany is not so clear. Germany has officially announced that it would not make formal application for admission at the present session, but it is known that Germany would be glad to have some other nation make application for Germany. It has been stated, moreover, that other nations, members of the League, particularly some of the neutrals, would make application for Germany's admission as a member; there is also an impression that Lord Cecil intends to make this application. Mr. Barnes, one of England's delegates, recently made the statement, on his own

authority, however, and as a personal view, that he was in favor of Germany's admission. Mr. Barnes further stated, however, that the British delegates were not committed on the question. M. Hjalmar Branting, of Sweden, is also credited with the intention of raising the discussion about Germany. Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, France, Jugo-Slavia and Rumania are opposed to Germany's admission, on the grounds that Germany has not yet given proof of her intention to carry out the terms of the Versailles treaty, and also because they believe it would complicate matters if Germany were admitted to the League while that country is still technically an enemy of the United States. It has been reported that France has instructed her delegates to withdraw from the meeting if the matter of Germany's admission is approved by the Assembly. The matter is further involved by the threat made by some neutral nations to withdraw from the League if Germany is denied admission. On the other hand, it has been announced that France and Great Britain have reached an understanding on the matter. Hungary, which ratified the treaty of peace on November 13, is also likely to make application for admission, but the nations which are opposed to Germany's admission are also opposed to Hungary's admission.

Other questions which will probably come up for discussion are the matters of the German reparations and the future of Russia; the early reduction of armaments, which is earnestly desired by the small nations; but great nations will probably endeavor to shelve this matter during the present session; the broadening of the constitution of the permanent court of justice with an increased obligation of submitting matters of dispute to arbitration, a proposal which is backed by the Scandinavian group and the small nations; the racial question, in which Japan is mainly interested; the case of Armenia and the Turkish invasions of that country, over which France is said to be not averse to assuming a mandate; and the matter of giving separate votes in the Assembly to the colonies of France. Norway has submitted three amendments to the Covenant of the League; namely, to articles XII, XIII and XV, by which it is proposed to provide for the ineligibility of a State to succeed itself as one of the four elective members of the Council of the League; for the elimination of the word "generally" from Article XIII, which in the present reading qualifies questions susceptible of solution by arbitration; and for the removal of the obligation to join in the blockade against a member breaking the Covenant if in danger of invasion.

The United States will have no voice at the meeting of the Assembly. It is possible, however, that an unofficial representative of the United States may be sent to the meeting in the capacity of an observer, without right to express any of the views of President Wilson on any of the matters which come up for discussion. The absence of the United States is universally deplored at

Geneva, and it is said that pending the final decision of the United States on joining the League, discussions at the present session will be largely tentative in character.

France.—In its edition of October 1, of the present year, the *Revue des Deux-Mondes* published an unsigned article entitled *L'Eglise de France et les Associations culturelles de 1905*. While the author of the article is still unknown, he is generally supposed to be, and on good grounds, a distinguished and prominent Catholic, but one whose views are certainly not those of the venerable and saintly Pius X. The article deals with the famous *Associations Cultuelles* devised in 1905, whose sole purpose was to destroy the Divine Constitution of the Church in France and to make of the French Catholic Church the pliant tool of the French Government. It is a matter of well-known history how the courageous Pius X saw the snare set for him and the Bishops of France and condemned the iniquitous measure, although he realized what enormous sacrifices the rejection of the law would entail on the Church in France. The *Nouvelles Religieuses* submits the article of the *Revue des Deux-Mondes* to a rigorous analysis. The contributor to the Parisian review thinks that the Law of 1905 was misunderstood both by Catholics in France and by Pius X in Rome, that it afforded in 1905 and still affords in 1920 an honorable basis of understanding between the French Church and the French Government. The writer of the *Nouvelles Religieuses* quotes the very words of the author of *L'Eglise de France et les Associations culturelles de 1905*. These conclusions amount to this: The *Associations Cultuelles* of 1905 afforded to the French Hierarchy, in the conditions under which they were offered all the guarantees necessary, such guarantees indeed that, ever since the days of the French Revolution, none safer had been given to the Church in France. The same *Associations Cultuelles*, in the present conditions of the Church in France, offers the same guarantees, they alone can offer them, and the critical state of the Church in France urges her today loyally to make an attempt to try them. Were he to consent to the *Associations Cultuelles*, Benedict XV would in no way put himself in contradiction with the policy of his venerated predecessor Pius X. Such are the conclusions of the article of the *Revue des Deux-Mondes*.

The *Revue des Deux-Mondes* is one of the best conducted reviews in France. It admits only writers of unusual merit, is as a rule fair and conservative. The best Catholic writers of the country contribute to its pages. From the high standing of the periodical in which it appeared, from the importance of the ever-burning question with which it dealt, the relations namely between the Vatican and the French Government, the French Bishops, and the Faithful of France, and finally from the distinguished position of its anonymous writer, the

article of the *Revue* gained unusual prominence. In Catholic circles it caused painful surprise, but did not go unanswered. In the *Semaines Religieuses* of their respective dioceses of Lyons, Bordeaux and Montpellier, Cardinals Maurin, Andrieu and De Cabrières strongly protested against the conclusions of the writer. Cardinal Maurin declared that the Associations Cultuelles of 1905 were rejected by Pope Pius X mainly because they attempted to overthrow the Divine Constitution of the Church and of the Hierarchy. Such Associations, he added, cannot be accepted now, unless the articles of the law and specifically article 4 be completely altered. In an article in *L'Aquitaine* fully reproduced in *La Documentation Catholique*, Cardinal Andrieu was no less explicit, while in his own diocesan paper, the nonagenarian Cardinal of Montpellier eloquently supported the views of his eminent brethren.

To these eloquent protests may be added the protest which appeared in the *Semaine Religieuse* of Cambrai which clearly specifies the character of the indiscreet and disloyal article of the *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, an article which that review accepted, it must be said, "*avec des réserves*." According to the writer in the *Semaine Religieuse* of Cambrai, the article of the *Revue des Deux-Mondes* seems to be part of a program whose purpose is to convince the world that since Pius X is dead, his "condemnations" are also dead. The article, moreover, he continues, is untimely. The initiative in such matter is to be left to the Holy Father. It is also dangerous. For the one clearly discernible result might after all only be to strengthen in their uncompromising attitude the authors, executors and champions of a law intrinsically evil.

Germany.—The Catholics of Germany are appealing to the world against what has come to be known as the "black crime." The situation was recently set forth in

The "Black
Crime"

the London *Daily Herald* by E. D. Morel, a member of the English Parliament. The crimes committed by the army of blacks upon the women and children of the Rhineland are attested under oath by the Women's League of these parts. Mr. Morel describes them as a sexual terror let loose upon the citizens through a set vindictive policy of French militarists. Eighteen months after peace has been declared, he says, "they overrun Europe with these black Africans; . . . most especially they have sent them to the 'Pfalz' in numbers of from 30,000 to 40,000." He then quotes a recent issue of the *Paris Clarté*, which thus calls the attention of Frenchmen to just one phase of the question:

Not to speak of the uncontrollable bestiality among the black troops, wherever they are stationed they spread syphilis and horrors of all kinds. A great number of dangerously diseased prostitutes have been sent from France into Wiesbaden and Mainz. The hospitals are overcrowded and new buildings had to be erected for these patients (men and women). A great

number of young German girls, far below the marriageable age in many instances, some not more than fourteen or fifteen years of age, are being taken to the hospitals. Some sold themselves because 20 francs are worth 150 marks and 50 francs are worth 400 marks.

But this, as Mr. Morel says, shows but one side of the dreadful conditions existing there. He adds:

I have before me a list of affidavits from relatives of victims, from physicians and from lawyers, of cases wherein the poor victim was overpowered, some in the most dreadful manner, of young girls who came home from work upon the fields, or poor factory girls who were seized on the street in the dark. Reports are accumulating where young girls from towns and villages have disappeared, where corpses of young women were found under manure piles, murdered, etc., etc.

The authorities of Mainz, Ems, Wiesbaden, Ludwigs-haven, and other cities were ordered to install additional public houses for these troops, even at great public expense. To a mayor of a certain town who refused to comply it was made clear that: "Otherwise the German women, girls and boys also would have to suffer as a consequence." The most horrible facts naturally remain unpublished. "An outsider," writes Mr. Morel, "would be tempted to mark them as an invention too horrible to exist if we but attempted to relate them." The African troops he describes as uncontrollable:

Furthermore, I would like to point out some of the underlying thoughts: Sexually the African troops are uncontrollable; this is a known fact. Even the strictest discipline would be unavailable. These people cannot be confined to their barracks. The economical poverty into which the working classes have been thrown furnishes an incentive to prostitution. All of this is but a part of well thought out politics. The instigators of these conditions know well what they are doing, and why they do it. The future will show only too clearly what an unquenchable fire of hatred is being nourished against the French nation.

There has been a studied silence in the press about these matters, in spite of such protests as those to which attention has already been called in AMERICA. Mr. Morel's point is well taken when he says:

The workmen of Great Britain, France and Italy will be ill advised if they sanction the silence about all this because it just happens that the Germans are the victims today. And, after all, there is no greater duty that womanhood could have than that called for in a case of this kind, which touches woman's most sensitive instincts of shame and decency which the war was unable to destroy among the white people.

Ireland.—Disorder is still rife in Ireland. In the beginning of the week Belfast was the scene of prolonged and serious rioting, while Tralee and surrounding regions

Blood and
Disorder

were sorely harassed by the police who forbade the sale of food and the making of bread, thus reducing the people to extreme hunger. Apparently the British officials in Ireland have become entirely oblivious of the ways of civilization. Non-combatants, especially women and children, even those in delicate health, are treated like combatants; newspaper men are punished for publishing

the news, letters are tampered with, remittances are stolen and altogether decency is outraged. So notorious is this that the *Westminster Gazette* commenting on Lloyd George's statement that England is "at war with Ireland," says:

If it is war, then it should be waged according to the rules of civilized warfare, and the first of these rules is that protection be given to the non-combatant population. When, for instance, a town or village is going to be shot up the inhabitants, especially the women and children, should be removed to a place of safety and not scattered over hills and bogs by a sudden incursion of armed men. They should not be exposed to the rigors of the weather or starved out, as is happening in Tralee, but be placed in internment or concentration camps and there fed and reasonably looked after. These measures are practised with even semi-barbarous peoples.

In the midst of all this slaughter and torture the Premier pushed his farcical Home Rule bill through the Commons, knowing, of course, that it will not be accepted by the Irish people who, in fact, have already rejected it. Lloyd George made the usual speech accusing Sinn Fein of diverse, fanciful plots, evidently confounding his master, Carson, and Sinn Fein. He spoke tearfully of Ireland's glory within the Empire and implored the people of Erin not to throw away their heritage. Why, think of it, the corpse of the unknown soldier honored on armistice day might have been that of an Irishman, he exclaimed. But the harbors of Ireland, the money of Ireland, the trade of Ireland, that was another question; they must remain British for ever. And if the Irish do not take the bill to their hearts their country, so the Premier threatens, is to be a Crown colony, a fate usually reserved for the uncivilized creatures that Britain bags in her numerous wars for democracy. The Irish correspondent of the *Daily Mail* well says that England would share his sense of shame if the people but realized how Britain is treating Ireland. It is an abiding disgrace to the press of England, he declares, a crime against truth and liberty, that so few Englishmen do know the truth. Evidently Britain's campaign against Ireland is to extend to the United States, for the correspondent of the New York *World* cables that British secret service men have gone to America, in the guise of workmen. They are to ingratiate themselves with Sinn Feiners and learn the latters' plans and are to arouse American animosity against Ireland by such tricks as the "J. V. O'Connor" threatening letters recently sent to prominent people, and even to the Loyal Coalition of Boston! Who but an Englishman could have threatened those ghosts of the Revolutionary loyalists! According to the *World* correspondent it was at first decided to erect at Old Head a monument to the Americans who died on the Lusitania and then to mutilate it in the hope of rousing American anger.

Italy.—The treaty between Italy and Jugo-Slavia was signed November 12 at Rapallo. The preamble of the

treaty states that Italy, the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes are sincerely desirous to establish cordial relations between the two countries for their common weal. Italy,

The Treaty with Jugo-Slavia

continues the preamble, recognizes the constitution of the neighboring State as one of her highest aims. The territorial treaty between the Italians and the Jugo-Slavs, which fixes the frontiers between the two nations and definitely settles a problem which time and again threatened to dissolve the Versailles conference, is considered throughout the country as a success for Italy. The Jugo-Slavs are understood to have acceded to the demands made upon them in view of important economic concessions which the Italian commissioners agreed to make in return for the territorial grants. These economic concessions are to be taken up immediately by a commission of technical experts.

The new treaty follows in many of its details the terms of the secret pact of London which the French and British governments signed in 1915 to induce Italy to enter the war on the side of the Allies. One of the decided gains made by Italy through the treaty is that it is given a strong defensive frontier on the east. On two important points the Italians yielded on the terms of the London treaty, ceding to the Jugo-Slavs the Konganatico district, which is inhabited largely by Jugo-Slavs, and most of the islands off the east coast of the Adriatic. But on the eastern frontier alone, the treaty means a net territorial gain to Italy of more than 3,500 square miles. Under the Treaty of London, Italy would have received seven large islands off Fiume and seventeen more off the Dalmatian coast, whereas under the new arrangement Italy gets only the islands of Cherso, Lussin and Unie off Fiume and only two off Dalmatia. The mercury mines of Idria go to Italy. From Predil Pass in the Julian Alps to Volosca, the suburb of Fiume, the frontier follows almost exactly the Treaty of London line. The Dalmatian city of Zara, with a hinterland covering a radius of a little more than six miles, is placed under Italian suzerainty, but Italy renounces all her claims to Sebenico. Fiume is to be independent, connected with Italy by a coastal strip of land running through Volosca. All railways entering Fiume are put under Italian control, thereby preventing Jugo-Slav interference with Fiume's communications. After the protocol was signed the diplomats of both countries, the Foreign Minister, Count Sforza, for Italy and Premier Vesnitch and Foreign Minister Trumbitch, for the Jugo-Slavs, expressed their satisfaction over the work accomplished. It was reported in press dispatches, but no authority was given for the report, that the Vatican had expressed its pleasure over the happy conclusion of the treaty. Though some extreme nationalists in Italy find fault with the terms of settlement, general satisfaction seems to be the prevailing sentiment for the moment at least. The *Idea Nazionale*, however, violently attacks the terms of the treaty.

Facts, not Fancies About the Czech Schism

E. CHRISTITCH

THE enthusiasm of some quite respectable American preachers of the Anglo-Catholic persuasion for a group of Czecho-Slovak apostate priests is difficult to explain. Theories in favor of what one ardently desires are apt to fade away when confronted with hard facts. In this case it is comic to anybody conversant with Czecho-Slovak matters that the apostates are supposed to differentiate between Protestant sects and to be drawn by spiritual affinity to the least Protestant among them! It is safe to assume that the lapsed priests of Czecho-Slovakia had never heard until last month of the sect styled "Anglo-Catholic," whatever that may mean. Nor can we doubt that when accosted by some of its members they hastened to acquiesce in whatever was advanced by theologians who first congratulated them on their rupture with Rome. The supposition that the apostates remain Catholic, maintaining dogma, doctrine and practice while repudiating only certain canons has been already refuted in these pages. Seceders from Rome invariably follow the same road. Crucifixes are torn down; the name of Mary is blasphemed; the Divinity of Christ is denied, and celibacy is rejected. Within a few years there will be little trace of Catholicism in the Czecho-Slovak National Church, provided it be still extant. Before Anglo-Catholic sympathizers came on the scene the Czecho-Slovak apostates had fraternized with more congenial comrades. Dr. Farsky, former professor of Catholic doctrine in Pilsen and leader of the new movement, signed, together with Dr. Bartoshek, an avowed freethinker, the scurrilous call to the people to clear the land from "Roman" as well as from German influence. Catholic boys, as we know, were refused a place in the "Falcon" celebrations. Hostility to the name of Catholic surpasses, in fact, on the part of some among the new sect that of the ordinary Protestant. The sect's organ, *Pozos*, published in Moravia, gave as follows the views of the apostate Hordlicka: "A true church knows no dogma, no hierarchy. Asceticism is reprehensible. Religion is mere sentiment."

As usual, those who decry Vatican councils hold councils of their own in which they arbitrarily lay down the law and summon the State to recognize as valid their seizure of Catholic churches. In Czecho-Slovakia the spoliators cynically offer the rightful owners the use of the buildings at stated times. Sad to say, Catholics have no government protection against such robbery.

Of course, dissension is rife within the camp. While Zahradnik, the famous demagogue, still professes to be a Catholic and prophesies that religion will flourish when freed from the "contamination of Rome," his first lieutenant, Farsky, preaches otherwise. For him, Christ is but "the most perfect man." Farsky denies the Real

Presence and tends towards pantheism. He is, on the whole, more honest than his chief. Which of the two worthies will prevail and get the status of "bishop" is not yet clear. Both, needless to say, have been excommunicated by their lawful Head. Disintegration being a feature of apostasy, the new sect is rapidly sub-dividing into small sects that are mainly concerned with propaganda for cremation, separation of Church and State, civil marriage, abolition of all feast days, dispersion of religious communities, prohibition of cultural symbols in public places, and other "reforms." Not very Catholic, this abolition of all to which Anglo-Catholics are harkening back!

Having failed in the towns, the apostates are now intent on proselyting the villages. They spread the poison by asserting that they remain good Catholics, the only novelty introduced being the popular tongue in church services. While they perform the sacred rites in the cities dressed in ordinary civil garb, they are careful to wear vestments in the country districts. But the peasants, less gullible than some distant admirers, have had their suspicions aroused by expressions of admiration for Huss and of contempt for St. John Nepomucene. They do not take kindly to relinquishment of the practices denounced by the "New Catholics," the same practices that Anglo-Catholics are reviving with such zeal and conviction. The clergy who banded together in rebellion against Christ's Vicar, did so not for the maintenance of Catholic doctrine but to perform sacrilegious marriages for one another. They are abettors of atheism as well as pioneers of the new "National Church." Here is an extract from a sermon by the lately wedded pastor of Eule:

We are no hypocrites. . . . Our first care is for ourselves and then, if well-off, we can trouble about your souls. In this town are now two churches, like two taverns. In one, good beer is tapped. That is ours. In the other musty beer! It is easy to decide between them. With us you have a Mass in your own tongue and the priest is married. That's all. . . . I was recently summoned before a court. It was an ecclesiastical court so I did not attend. I know my own business and I am content in my little parish. . . . You need no longer come bothering me with your sins. Repent in your hearts and I'll give you absolution without more ado.

A pedagogue, ardent adherent of the new movement, is more advanced, as these words show:

We must get rid of religious instruction in the schools before we can make headway. Earth would be paradise if religions and ceremonies were done away with. I do not believe in an Almighty God, or in a devil, or in Providence. All this is a lie! Even if I were to be burnt alive I would still shout it aloud. . . . We, Czechs, have reason to hate the Cross for it brought us bad morals and political slavery.

The pseudo-heroism of the ranter loses effect when one

remembers that far from being burnt for his opinions they will probably recommend him to the powers that be. Schoolmasters are among the perverters of the young. Children are persuaded unknown to their parents to renounce their Catholic Faith. The very word Catholic is becoming daily more unpalatable to the reformers.

Let us turn in the general ferment of Czecho-Slovakia to the vantage points of those honest, loyal citizens who are more concerned for their country's weal than for their own preferment and convenience. The Slav Catholic party, so gallantly inaugurated at the call of danger, gains ground by steadily recruiting the best forces. Its thirty-three parliamentary exponents are supported by the German Christian-Social party of ten members, staunch defenders of order and religion.

No less than 20,000 processionists did honor to the relics of St. John Nepomucene, glory of the Czechs, in reparation for the disgraceful outrages of the free-thinkers.

Bishop Podlaka has brilliantly refuted the arguments of the "Away from Rome!" renegades in a thesis showing forth the great debt of the Czech people to the Papacy. The elevation of Mgr. Nicara, Apostolic Delegate, to the office of Papal Nuncio has given new dignity and solidity to the Catholic cause in Czecho-Slovakia.

Bishop Kaspar of Konniggrats, renowned theologian and public benefactor, has just given another princely donation from his private inheritance for the Church and charity. The Holy Father himself has sent a large sum to relieve the wants of the poorer clergy in the mountainous districts of Ceska and Moravia, one of many generous gifts from Pope Benedict to his Czecho-Slovak children.

The Catholic Congress held at Prague under the wise direction of Archbishop Kordac to deliberate on the best methods of combatting the anti-religious campaign, was attended by 22,000 sympathizers from the provinces. A new Catholic daily will be launched in the new year on more comprehensive lines than the plucky little paper, *Czech*, which hitherto fought the good fight for faith and fatherland almost single-handed.

Meanwhile, the crucial question for the "reformed" priests is whether they should frankly throw in their lot with the agnostics of Czecho-Slovakia, or catch on to the Eastern schism, or gravitate towards Protestantism. Should the Anglo-Catholics of America make it worth their while they might remain nominal Catholics for a time. Stand alone they cannot. But American Anglo-Catholics should be told that in helping the Czech schism, they are abetting not religion but infidelity, hidden under the guise of false pietism.

Europe and the League of Nations

A. J. MUENCH

PUBLIC opinion in Europe has grown very pessimistic regarding the League of Nations. This has become so epidemic that London papers are demanding an immediate convocation of the Council of the League with a view to have it formulate a declaration of the extent of its authority and the measures necessary to enforce respect for this authority. The belief of people in the many promised chances for certain and enduring peace under the articles of the Covenant of the League has been broken and its remnants have been scattered to the four winds by the revolutionary blasts of events in which the League failed to take decisive action.

Already, in the early days of the existence of the League, Persia had become a problem. Persia, an original member of the League, called upon it for help when the Bolsheviks advanced on the country and captured Enzeli, the chief Persian port, on May 18, 1920. The next day Prince Firouz, the Persian Foreign Minister, dispatched a letter to Sir Eric Drummond, the Secretary-General of the League, asking the assistance of the League in driving out the Bolsheviks. No effective response was given to this call for help. This was due largely to the influence of the French papers, at the head of which marched the *Paris Temps*. They feared that intervention by the League would, on the one hand, put

the stamp of approval by the League upon the Anglo-Persian agreement, which was suspiciously eyed by French statesmen as overweighting English influence in the Orient, and, on the other hand, would be equal to a recognition of the Soviet regime in as far as intervention by the League would ultimately lead to the establishment of permanent relations with the Bolsheviks for the enforcement of the decisions agreed upon. The worst fears were now beginning to be fulfilled that the League was a good League as long as it served national ambitions, but that it was a nonentity as soon as it ran counter to national schemes.

In proof of this, more evidence was soon to be piled up by the course of events. The Saar coal basin is placed under the jurisdiction of the League of Nations, to be governed in its name by a commission of five members. However, the actual government in the Saar Valley today is the military regime of France; the commission of the League is but a beautiful piece of decoration, a pretty, docile poodle-dog led by M. France Nationalism, withersoever he wills. Remonstrances to the Council of the League have produced the answer of the Greek member of the Council, M. Caclamanos, that the Council must not intervene in governmental affairs excepting "for superior reasons." To what extent this weakens the pow-

ers of jurisdiction of the League over mandated territories is at once evident. "Superior reasons" are never hard to find when a statesman wishes to safeguard his country's interests.

Then came the Russian danger to Poland's stability. Poland sent out a call of help which was heard in London and in Paris. Both England and France, as members of the League with Poland, were pledged under the Covenant to come to Poland's aid, but the call was left unheeded. English and French statesmen were at variance over the Russian question, and therefore came to no decision. They viewed the whole affair not from the standpoint of the League, as they were pledged to do by the obligations assumed under the Covenant, but from the standpoint of other "superior reasons" inspired by national purposes. National egoism spoiled another good opportunity for the League to get into action. The argument of opponents to the League was strengthened in as far as these opponents now had concrete evidence for their contention that the League would be shattered on the rocks of the selfishness of nations which, like the selfishness of individuals, ruthlessly destroys the finest ideals of man's mind. Without the League Poland saved itself from the terrorism of Bolshevism. The League must forego the laurels which today it might wear with glory as the savior of small and distressed nations.

The small nations of Europe know now that it is a matter of help yourself. In consequence all of them are making provisions for an increase of armaments. Thus Queen Wilhelmina of Holland in her speech from the throne pleaded for an enlarged military organization on the grounds that, even though Holland was a member of the League, the League had thus far shown itself so ineffective that the nation, if it would enjoy safety, must put reliance upon its own strength of arms. So, too, British terrorism in Ireland has shaken the confidence of small nations in the League as a protector of their claims for justice. They are loath to place their trust in castles built in the air; they look to fortifications of substantial existence. It may be tragical to lovers of peace, but as in days of old, nations are following the motto: "*Si vis pacem, para bellum.*"

Perhaps the principal cause for this collapse of the League is the spirit of nationalism, which was never so hot in Europe as in this day. The fires of chauvinism are burning high, and they are being fanned to such heights by the winds of the principle of self-determination of nations sweeping over all the lands. Each nation insists, and vigorously insists, that it must determine not only its rights, but also its duties, with the result that it suspiciously watches every move of neighboring nations, nervously retaliates against real or alleged aggression and continually searches for sinister motives in the words and deeds of leading statesmen. Such a state of things is evidently characteristic of cut-throat competition and promises little for the cordial co-operation which is absolutely essential for the maintenance of the League.

The realities of this world are usually cold, stern, unrelenting facts. Statesmen who rub elbows with these facts every day make no reckoning without them. Seeing them as they are, they do not put their trust in the League, but in larger armies and navies and in favorable alliances with other nations. Japan, a member of the League, startles the world by building the battleship Mutsu at a cost of forty million dollars, fourteen million dollars more than England's best battle-cruiser, the Hood. France today maintains an army whose cost is more than double that of the Prussian military machine. England is carrying out a navy program that surpasses the fondest hopes of navy enthusiasts before the war. France and Belgium have formed a military alliance, the terms of which, as is coolly announced by Delacroix of Belgium, they will not register for publication with the Secretary-General of the League, although Article XVIII of the Covenant explicitly requires this, in accordance with the Wilsonian principle that all secret engagements shall be abolished for all times. The newer republics of Central Europe, Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia, have formed a "little entente" of their own as a measure insuring a proper balance of power for the control of their affairs in Europe. The terms of this alliance are not deposited with the Secretary-General of the League. The example of England, when it failed to deposit the Anglo-Persian treaty of August 9, 1919, as demanded under the Covenant, has proved contagious. All these agreements, treaties or alliances resolve themselves into schemes which the diplomats of the old school neatly phrased as balance of power. Clemenceau's policy has thus prevailed in every corner of Europe. Speaking of the old-fashioned system of balance of power, he declared:

There is an old system which appears condemned today and to which I do not fear to say that I remain faithful at this moment. Countries have organized the defense of their frontiers, with the necessary elements and the balance of power.

These words of the realist Clemenceau were flung into the Chamber of Deputies on Dec. 31, 1918, at a time when the idealist Wilson was being feted in the cities of Europe and hailed as the savior of the world. From that hour the theory of the balance of power and the theory of world cooperation entered upon a death struggle with each other. Events are clearly showing which is being returned the victor.

In view of these facts history will write the names of those men who had the courage in the face of the whole world to stand out against the League, as a chimerical and even a dangerous proposition, into its pages as men of keen foresight and well-balanced judgment. Whilst all statesmen gifted with political wisdom thought so, not all were honest in expressing their convictions. Their deeds now express them without the utterance of a single word. Their deeds are full of mistrust as regards the efficacy of the League. It is a silent concession of the futility of the League. It is, therefore, a gross libel on

the good name of the United States if it is stated, as it sometimes is stated, that the League's failure is due to the non-entrance of the United States. No charge could be more stupid. It is based on gross ignorance of the causes of Europe's political troubles. These arose from sources, and ran courses, so independent of any nation's entrance or non-entrance into the League, that it is absurd to give thought to such a change. Entrance of the United States into the League would not have changed the course of events in Europe by one iota, excepting, perhaps, to have increased the entanglements which have already been aggravated by the conflicting policies of the various governments.

What the world needed at the time of the formation of the League, and what it still needs, is not a stiffly-jointed piece of mechanism, but an organism capable of development and growth according to the quickly chang-

ing needs of these quickly changing times. Clumsy, awkward machinery was entirely out of place. But good counsels were spurned. Pope Benedict XV had enunciated in his peace note of August 1, 1917, an idea of a League along lines so facile and so flexible that because of the very flexibility of its design it was ignored. Mr. Root has recently advanced plans for a League quite similar to those of Pope Benedict XV, but this has evoked little interest in Europe. It is a plan that is considered workable by the very best legal talent on international law, and this for no other reason but that it combines healthy idealism with healthy realism. Its secret is that it takes men as they are and not as they should be. Upon this knowledge of the difference between is and ought-to-be, it builds its house, and usually such houses are not built on sand. But politicians seem to prefer the sand.

A Solution of a Great Social Problem

EDWARD J. WHELAN

ONE of the many hopeful signs of a happy outcome of the industrial strife between capital and labor is witnessed in the instances which are now and then brought to our attention, of certain delicate situations somewhat, if not altogether, patched up agreeably to both parties by the fact that each is willing to meet the other half way. As a general rule, in such instances the initiative is taken by the employer, as indeed it should be; and the employees, who are red-blooded men first, with a goodly amount of God-given common sense, and union-labor men or strikers or Socialists even, secondly, are generally keen enough to appreciate real, sincere good will on the part of the employers. Men are only boys grown up, after all, and at bottom human nature is the same in both. For as an old teacher of boys, who had patched up many a strained relation between students and faculty, once remarked:

I have yet to see the American boy whom I could not reason with. He may be excited and unreasonable for the moment, but let him calm down, and he will invariably be willing to admit that he was in the wrong.

So it is with the workingman, if he sees that his employers are really sincere in their dealings with him. And this has been evidenced not so long ago in several cases, one of which was the happy agreement arrived at between both parties in the Philadelphia Rapid Transit controversy.

But there are other countries besides our own that are having their labor troubles, some of which, too, are more serious than those which are puzzling the brains of the sociologists on the Statue of Liberty side of the Atlantic. One reason for this might possibly be that in certain sections of certain European countries the number of illiterates runs exceedingly high, even as high as

seventy per cent. The result is that the Socialist, the Bolshevik, the Syndicalist have excellent tinder for their pestilential conflagration. The poor fellows believe what they are told: capital and government both are arrant knaves stalking in high places, and the sooner they are both gotten rid of the better.

And so it might help us to inquire into what is being done in another country, at least by one company, to solve an all-important problem.

The picturesque Province of Asturias in Northern Spain is fast becoming famous for its coal mines. Not, indeed, of recent discovery, it is, nevertheless, true that in recent years, since the war, in fact, they have been developed on a very large scale. Now practically no foreign coal enters Spain; enough is mined for Spain's own use. True, Spain has not the industries of some other countries, and many ordinary things are still imported, many of them "made in America." Thus American typewriters and cash-registers are seen in almost every store; American sewing machines are the only ones that are advertised; American safety razors, shaving soap, shoe blacking, dental paste, fountain pens, thermos bottles, etc., may be seen in numerous store windows; while American automobiles and auto-trucks ply the city streets and country roads.

But Spain's industries are growing; and for these, as well as for her railroads and her steamers (and her merchant marine is greater than one would imagine; sixty-five of her steamers being the victims of submarines), she uses home-mined coal.

In the Province of Asturias there is a little town and railroad station called Ujo, where are situated the headquarters and plant of the *Sociedad Hullera de Ujo* (The

Soft Coal Company of Ujo), of which the Marquis of Comillas is president. While stopping off there with a geologist as companion who was intent on studying strata and rocks and lumps of coal and things, I found something which interested me ever so much more, the human element; and to that I directed all my queries. Social conditions were to my mind as near perfection as might be. True, in many places in the United States one will find as much done for the social welfare of man, but I know of no commercial organization that has instituted social work on a scale that so approximates what the medieval guilds must have been as the work done by the Marquis of Comillas among his coal miners in Ujo. The soul of the work is religion; from a religious motive it had its start, and religion is its end. On the part of the directors it is the acme of Christian charity as distinguished from mere philanthropy, and they differ as night from day; for the one does what it does because in its recipients it sees souls redeemed by the Blood of a God-Man, while philanthropy, meritorious as it may be, tends to benefit the merely social condition of man. In the case of the Marquis of Comillas this is all the more evident as well from his numerous other charities in all parts of Spain as well as for the magnificent seminary where are some 500 ecclesiastical students, which was built thirty years ago by his father, and in which the present Marquis takes such a personal interest.

In the coal mines of Ujo there are employed between 4,000 and 5,000 workmen, who with their families form a population of about 20,000 depending for their sustenance upon the mines. They do not all live in the same town, but in a series of pueblos scattered along a space of six or seven miles in the narrow little valley on whose bordering hills are the coal mines.

Cooperative stores, eight in number, are to be formed through the valley, maintained by the company and all served by the little toy railroad that brings down the coal. In these stores, which only the families of the employees may patronize, can be bought bread, meat, fish, wine, groceries and eatables of all sorts, including even salt pork from Chicago. Also a small line of underclothes and cloth in the bolt is carried. All these articles are to be had at a price of from twenty-five to fifty per cent cheaper than at any outside stores. The bakery, in which is baked the bread for these seven stores, is deserving of special mention. Every day 14,000 pounds of bread are baked in six massive ovens, giving thus employment to a crew of men; and excellent bread it is, too. The Spaniard prides himself, and with reason, upon the excellent quality of the bread to be had in Spain, and the Spanish are essentially a bread-eating people; but nowhere in Spain have I eaten, I do not say better bread, but as good bread as can be had at the coal mines of Ujo. No money is paid at the cooperative stores at the time of purchase of articles; but all purchases are entered against each miner's account and the amount deducted from his wages at the end of the month.

The company has taken up the housing question, too, and already has 250 habitations for workmen which shelter in the neighborhood of 1,200 souls. Some of these houses are built in the apartment house style, with four and five rooms to the apartment; others are double houses, i. e., one building with two homes. They are built substantially of stone and brick and are finished attractively. For these apartments the workman pays the munificent sum of five cents a day, \$1.50 a month, the Spanish equivalent according to the present rate of exchange being eight or nine pesetas a month. As rents run in the country towns of Spain for similar or poorer apartments, even the workman would be obliged to pay at least forty pesetas a month. Added to this is the fact that after a certain number of years of employment the house belongs to the workman, with the condition that should he then move away he must sell the house back to the company. Already about twelve families are masters of their own houses, and the houses cannot be more than fifteen years old.

A hospital with a full staff of attendants is kept for emergency cases and for those recovering from accidents. In connection with this is a dispensary where medicines are distributed gratis to the workmen and their families. Besides, a staff of five doctors, who are stationed in different pueblos of the valley, is employed to furnish medical attention and to visit the sick in their homes. Should a man be killed in an accident while in the service of the company, his widow immediately receives the equivalent of three years' salary, with a monthly allowance thereafter for several years. And in graded proportion is a series of similar benevolent allowances.

Nor is the school question overlooked. As Catholicism is the State religion of Spain, religion forms one of the branches of study; so there has not grown up a parochial system of schools such as we know in the States. But here at Ujo something very similar has been introduced; and five new stone and brick schools have been erected where the children of the miners, in number about 2,000, are educated at the expense of the company. The teaching of the girls is in the able hands of the Sisters of St. Dominic, of whom there are twenty-five; while fifteen Christian Brothers, as much in the foreground in Spain as in the United States, look after the education of the boys. And it is the company that stands the entire expense of putting up the buildings and sustaining the two religious communities.

Nor is this all. There still remains to be seen the real religious element. Not content with the religious life that is fostered in the five towns, each of which has its church and its pastor, the company has built a really beautiful church, which lies very near the middle of the valley, where the mines are located. To it is attached a chaplain, who *ex officio* is chaplain of the miners and of the schools as well. And this chaplain now is a dear, saintly man, Don Manuel Miranda, who for twenty-one years has labored in the capacity of *capellán de los*

mineros. Everybody knows him and everybody loves him. His heart is with his miners. His church is a realization of how the Church has ever striven to dignify labor. Its symbolism is entirely of mines. For instance, the iron gates that fence it in have for pickets little shovels; the pulpit is supported on each of its four sides by two uprights and a cross piece made in imitation of the beams and cross pieces that support the tunnels of the mines. While the altar—beautiful in its simplicity, and in this it is a great relief from the ceiling-scraping retablos and massive gilded altars which one so frequently sees in Spanish churches—has a beautifully symbolic antependium. In the middle is carved a miner, pick in hand, working away in a coal mine; on the epistle side is depicted a steamship; on the gospel side a locomotive, because it is in these two steam-propelled mechanisms that coal has been of greatest use in furthering the progress of mankind.

Connected with the church is the chaplain's little home where his sister keeps house for him. A few hundred feet away is one of the schools where the community of the Brothers lives, the Sisters' community house being about a quarter of a mile farther up the valley; while on the other side of the church is a hall for lectures and entertainments, and where moving pictures are in order every Sunday. Above the hall is a large dormitory. For what? you will ask. For the men who watch at night before the Blessed Sacrament. Because during two entire nights every week, Wednesday and Friday, there is held Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. And those who watch are not the women folk, who according to some are naturally more pious, but the miners themselves. About 250 have signed for this service of love, for it is optional, and these are divided into bands; thus each band has its turn every two or three weeks. On the evening which happens to be the turn of a particular band to watch before the King, the members all assemble at the church for the Exposition. The watches are then divided into turns of an hour each, each miner having but one hour, and some seven form each guard of honor; and during the rest of the night they sleep in the dormitory above the hall. At 4.30 the following morning a special Mass is had at the end of the Exposition, at which the entire band is present, and at which all receive Holy Communion. Little wonder is it that God's blessing seems to rest upon the work, material, social and spiritual, at Ujo.

One naturally is anxious to know if there be labor troubles at Ujo. From what I could gather they have been reduced to a minimum; and this in the very district where Spanish employers are getting gray hairs, not knowing what to expect on the morrow. The day before a director of a large zinc foundry while showing me through his deserted establishment where the 400 workers who man the furnaces were on strike, leaving the very ore to cool in the furnaces, destroying thus both ore and the furnaces themselves, dejectedly called his estab-

lishment an "industrial cemetery." And his is by no means an isolated case. Long and eloquent was his Jeremiah on strikes and the weakling Government; for, as the ministry changes on an average of every few months, the capitalists can look for no definite policy, nor a firm hand, nor even protection from the Government. Pick up a Spanish newspaper any day at all, and you will find dispatches from all parts of the peninsula telling of strikes in the principal cities, punctuated every day with the blood of two or three murders as a partial result thereof.

When I say that there is practically no trouble at all at Ujo, it would seem to be proof positive that the social works in operation there are fruitful of results. Such is indeed the case. Even the individuals bitten by the Socialistic bug prefer to work at Ujo rather than in the other coal mines in the vicinity; for together with the social benefits we have described of co-operative stores, homes, medical attention, etc., they receive also a slightly higher wage. And the Socialists, as the chaplain informed me, soon become of a very mild brand; that while still calling themselves Socialists, they hear Mass every Sunday and fulfill their religious duties. If all Socialists would do likewise they would be moderate indeed.

The Socialist press on the contrary, in spite of the fact that the Marquis of Comillas has done so much to benefit the condition of the miners and their families, is strong in its condemnation of the work done at Ujo, calling the Marquis of Comillas and his lieutenant Don Santiago "Jesuits." But all this to my mind is an excellent sign as it shows that the Socialist press fears that in this work lies the solution of the social problem; and such a solution would be disastrous indeed for Socialists, their bag and baggage, their press, their principles, their very existence. In very truth it is exactly in this that the solution of all social and industrial problems eventually does and must lie. Religion, the very soul of the question at issue, cannot be left out of the reckoning. Make the world sincerely Catholic and all social questions will be settled overnight. For in Catholicism you have a deep regard for and sincere love of one's fellow-men; you have the underlying principle of the fundamental equality of men; you have the synthesis of give and take, and all this because there lies beneath in each individual an immortal soul.

In Ujo in the coal mines of the *Sociedad Hullera* have I seen the best solution to the social question that I know of. Religion is the guiding star. The system, though offering some difficulties in a country not entirely Catholic, might, however, with but few changes be imitated in practically all its features.

But in this, as in all other phases of life, perverse human nature is the real obstacle to social progress. Men think too much of themselves, too much of money and luxury, too little of others and of the justice and charity that are so necessary for the welfare not only of the individual but of the commonwealth so sadly harassed these days, by the unruly passions of thoughtless citizens.

Senator Thomas and the Smith Bill

PAUL L. BLAKELY, S.J.

IN the late campaign, Senator Charles S. Thomas, United States Senator from Colorado, was, in his own words, "somewhat vigorously criticised for opposing the passage of the Smith-Towner educational bill." In questions affecting the constitutional relations of the States with the Federal Government, Senator Thomas is a recognized authority; it is, therefore, significant that no man has so consistently and effectively fought the paternalistic schemes which have swarmed at Washington, particularly since the introduction of the Smith-Towner bill. Many of his utterances have been quoted with approval in AMERICA, and his speech against the Smith-Towner bill, delivered in the Senate on July 28, 1920, has been republished in the pamphlet, "The Case Against the Smith-Towner Bill."

Senator Thomas defends the position that Federal paternalism is absolutely unconstitutional, and that the Smith bill is one of its most dangerous manifestations. As an authority on the Constitution, he holds that this paternalism involves an assumption by the Federal Government of rights reserved forever to the respective States or to the people. This usurpation breaks down the delicate balance of power between the Federal and the State Governments, and destroys the American Republic as established by the framers of the Constitution. From the social point of view, the results are loss of self-reliance, energy, independence, both in communities and individuals. And these are qualities without which the essentially American principle of local self-government cannot endure.

Consequently, Senator Thomas was not at a loss for a conclusive reply, when attacked for his opposition to this un-American bill. In the course of the campaign he issued a paper giving eight reasons "Why I Oppose the Smith-Towner Bill," and incidentally, it is pleasant to note that his reasons embody the position taken by AMERICA since October, 1918, when the bill was introduced. It will, therefore, be interesting and profitable to put this expert witness in the box and study his answers:

Q. What does the Smith bill do?

A. The bill creates a Department of Education, and transfers the educational affairs of the country over to it. (Reason 1).

Q. Is education a duty of the respective States?

A. Education is fundamentally local. It is one of the insistent and, I think, unescapable duties of the States operating through the school district, and of the individuals who prefer the more expensive plan of private instruction. (Reason 1).

Q. Does the Smith-Towner bill centralize education?

A. The bill centralizes the work of education at the National Capital. (Reason 2).

Q. Does the bill deprive the States of any legitimate jurisdiction?

A. [The bill] deprives the States of another, and one of the most important branches of their political jurisdiction. (Reason 2).

Q. Does the bill promote "bureaucracy"?

A. The bill "bureaucratizes" the instruction of our youth, involves it in the national curse of red tape, creates another army of government employees, and substitutes the Federal official for the local superintendent. (Reason 3).

Q. Will the bill decrease expenses and add efficiency?

A. Apart from the exasperating and tedious delays, such a system inflicts upon the transaction of business, are the vastly increased expense and accompanying decreased efficiency of administration. (Reason 3).

I may here note that inserted words are placed in brackets. The questions are my own; the answers are quoted in the Senator's exact words.

Senator Thomas next considers a condition which, although at present disavowed by the friends of the bill, would almost certainly be realized after a few years of the process of "equalizing educational opportunities" and of "strengthening" courses deemed weak by the political appointee at Washington. The questions may be thus proposed:

Q. Will uniformity in instruction and text-books be prescribed for the entire country under the Smith-Towner act?

A. Without regard to local needs or differences in community conditions, a uniformity of instruction, text-books, historical and political methods of inquiry will inevitably succeed a system now readily and properly responding to the moods and requirements of locality. (Reason 4).

Q. Would a Federal Department of Education involve the local schools in politics?

A. Community objections or protests against unpopular methods would inevitably project educational affairs into the arena of national politics. (Reason 5).

Q. Might questions of religion be likewise involved?

A. [These community objections or protests] might partake at times of a religious character. (Reason 5).

Q. What would be the effect on the school system?

A. [These disputes would] necessarily lower the integrity of the system. (Reason 5).

Q. Under present conditions, are there any good State school systems?

A. [Yes.]

Q. Would you advise Federal control of, or direction of, a good State school system?

A. [No.] Let a good State system alone. (Reason 6).

Q. Under the present system, have not the States "broken down" or failed notably in their duty to the schools?

A. [No.] The educational systems of the States have functioned well. They are not perfect; some are better than others, and all are improving with experience. (Reason 6).

Q. Is education exclusively a function of the civil power?

A. [No.]

Q. Why?

A. [Because] education has very properly its private side. Hence [under the present system] private schools and universities exist and flourish side by side with the public institutions. (Reason 7).

The existence of private schools, colleges and universities under Catholic auspices is, of course, a familiar fact. There is not a State in the Union without its Catholic schools of primary and secondary grade; in forty-one States and the District, Catholic colleges and universities have been founded. It is not so well known, perhaps, that the Lutherans, Jews, Episcopalians, Quakers, Seventh-Day Adventists, and other religious communities

have also established parish schools, or that such universities as Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Clark, Chicago, and Pennsylvania are not public but private institutions. Will these private institutions be affected by the Smith-Towner bill?

Clearly, a measure which completely reverses the traditional and constitutional relations of the Federal Government with the public schools, and subsidizes one system to the exclusion of all others, cannot but produce grave, far-reaching changes in the educational world. With the Federal Government in charge of the public schools, a large measure of control over the private schools, Catholic, Lutheran, Jewish and Episcopalian, will be secured. Federal standards to which these schools must conform will be prescribed. The financial burden of the private school will be greatly increased by the Federal and State subsidies paid the public institution. Further, it is practically certain that, sooner or later, the Federal educational bureaucracy will aspire to the control of all educational institutions, public or private, from the kindergarten to the university. Bureaucracy, in whatever activity it is found, is like the horseleech. The Smith-Towner bill, then, is not only a menace to the control by the State of the public schools, but to the control of all schools, of whatever kind. Senator Thomas indicates this grave danger in his Reason 7:

Q. Will the centralization promoted by the bill extend to the private institutions?

A. Sooner or later, the craze for federalizing everything will demand their subordination to the National Department [of Education].

Q. To whom, under our political system, is instruction confided?

A. The caste of instruction is properly confided to the joint custody of the States and the family. (Reason 7).

Finally, Senator Thomas touches upon the question of vocational training in the army and upon other educational projects, and holds that they do not demand the expense and bureaucracy of another Federal Department.

Education and vocational training in the army and navy, and educational requirements for an alien and Indian population should and are receiving the attention of the Federal Government. But this does not demand another Department, with another cabinet officer and many thousands of tax-eaters. (Reason 8).

The friends of the Smith-Towner bill look forward with confidence to the passage of the bill during the next Congress. There is danger, and great danger, that their hopes will be realized. Are we ready to accept this bill, with the consequences so clearly pointed out by Senator Thomas? The bill will cripple educational efficiency in the public schools. It will ultimately set up a bureaucracy in control of all institutions, public and private. It will destroy the constitutional principle by which rights reserved to the States or to the people are inviolate. It will add hundreds of millions to the country's already staggering financial burdens. It is not an American ideal, but a foreign importation, wholly inconsistent with Amer-

ican ideals of freedom. Let every American, mindful of the menace involved in a Federal educational bureaucracy, at once urge the danger of the Smith-Towner bill upon the Senators from his State and his Representative in the House.

COMMUNICATIONS

Letters as a rule should not exceed six-hundred words.

A Drive for Fordham

To the Editor of AMERICA:

More than 200 prospective students were turned away from the doors of Fordham University this year because she lacks the facilities to care for them. As other Catholic institutions are in much the same plight, there remain for these Catholic young men only the non-Catholic schools. The peril to Catholic higher education in this condition is obvious.

Fordham is the largest Catholic University in the United States and the only one in the great archdiocese of New York. With the constant growth of the parish school and other branches of the Catholic educational system, the pressure on Fordham's facilities will grow yearly more severe. To meet these demands, new buildings and additional facilities must be provided quickly.

Already the University authorities have been compelled to close the medical school, although it ranked among the highest in the East, because it imposed too great a strain upon the University's slender finances to meet its annual deficit.

Fordham serves a constituency of nearly 2,000,000 Catholics. To this constituency she now appeals for support, basing that appeal upon her record of seventy-nine years of conscientious service. Her immediate and most imperative needs aggregate \$1,500,000 of which \$500,000 is sought as an endowment fund with which she can extend and maintain her service. Fordham seeks no fund for raising professional salaries, for the reason that practically all her teachers are members of the Society of Jesus who receive no monetary compensation. A new science building, a new dormitory, a new library and administration building are among the more pressing of her building needs.

Fordham is not appealing for herself alone. In the name of Catholicism she pleads the cause of Christian education. May she count upon your editorial support?

In connection with a movement to obtain the required funds, the Hon. Morgan J. O'Brien, general chairman of the Fordham Special Committee, has established headquarters in the Eagle Building, 257 Fourth avenue, New York, where there is a publicity bureau which will issue material from time to time. This bureau is at your service and will gladly furnish any special material desired.

New York.

E. P. TIVNAN, S. J.

A Friend in Disguise

To the Editor of AMERICA:

England is perhaps popularly regarded, at least by Irish sympathizers, as a tyrant, and doubtless the worst enemy Ireland could have. But a little analysis would indicate that one would be not unreasonable in calling England Ireland's best friend. With a population of 4,000,000 in Ireland and 37,000,000 in England, it was inevitable that the more populous race would subjugate the smaller people. Let us suppose then that France or Germany, the two most likely powers, had been in possession of England and therefore necessarily the dominant people in the British Isles. If France had been in England's place, through her genius for colonization, she would have painlessly eradicated Irish traditions, imposed her own culture, and through diplomacy would have found the Irish unconsciously willing victims to a process of absorption.

If Germans had been the masters it is reasonable to suppose that, although their methods would have been as harsh as those of England, Germany would have removed the biggest stumbling block to Irish subjugation, religious freedom, and would have, through pressure persistently enforced, finally turned Ireland into a happy and prosperous adjunct of the Fatherland.

On the contrary, England through her centuries old atrocities, has only served to keep inflamed Irish spirit, has inspired passionate love in every Irishman for things Celtic, so that today, after 750 years, the Gael is more keenly alive to his nationalism than ever before. We may, therefore, with some show of right, attribute the persistence of Irish traditions and this twentieth century renaissance of Gaelic culture to the methods of the unseeing English. France would have absorbed Ireland, Germany would have effectually coerced and later forced her to like things German, but England has done neither, and therefore Ireland lives today. Moreover, if the British had not reduced the island to pauperism and made living conditions intolerable, Ireland might have secured the prosperity to which her geographic position entitled her, and her people content, like the races of the Lowlands to remain at home, might have been denied the privilege of building American Catholicism.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

J. D. F.

Help for a Mission Seminary

To the Editor of AMERICA:

The Oblate Fathers of St. Francis de Sales conduct a seminary in Overbach, in which they train missionaries for Africa. Many heroic young souls are offering themselves for this great apostolic work, but unfortunately not half of the candidates for the mission can be accepted, for the simple reason that there is not money enough to support them. Africa is crying for priests, young men have heard the call and are eager to sacrifice everything, the Oblate Fathers are prepared and anxious to help them respond to their vocation, the only thing lacking is the means to meet the necessary expenses. Will not some of the readers of AMERICA come to their assistance? Who will send them Mass-stipends? The address is: Missionshaus der PP. Oblaten, Overbach, Post Barmen bei Jülich, Bezirk Aachen, Rheinland, Germany. Allow me personally to assure you that there is question in this appeal of a very important apostolic work, the heroism and penury of which I have seen with my own eyes.

Innsbruck.

P. DERICHS, S.J.

Southern Masons and the Smith Bill

To the Editor of AMERICA:

As has been often shown in your columns, the fundamental reason why every American should oppose the Smith bill is that the bill is contrary to the spirit and letter of the Constitution. If the educational authorities of the respective States are required, as by the Smith bill they are required, to submit their plans for the schools to a political officer at Washington, a man who has exclusive control of the annual appropriation of \$100,000,000, it is certain that this Federal officer will be in complete control of all the schools in the United States before many years have passed. I do not see how any fair-minded man can escape this conclusion. And it ought to be plain that this Federal control is not only unconstitutional, but utterly out of harmony with American ideals. Those great autocrats, Napoleon and Bismarck, strove to bring about the same centralized control in France and Germany. They did not fully succeed. But once the Smith bill is in full operation, we shall have in this supposedly free country, a condition of affairs too rank for even bureaucratized and official-ridden France and Prussia.

It may be of interest to know that in many places in the South, the constitutional aspects of the bill do not arouse much

interest; in fact, I have found it difficult to make a good many people with whom I have talked, understand that the Constitution has anything to do with the case. The bill is generally welcomed as a good club with which to beat the Catholics. Bigotry dies hard in many Southern towns, and in these localities I have frequently heard the bill recommended as the best way of suppressing the Catholic schools. The Masons in particular are prominent in their support of the bill, and I have been told that many a "Resolution of Approval" owes its existence to Masonic influence. This report seems borne out by the fact that several Masonic journals, the October issue of the *Builder*, for instance, have published strong articles in favor of the bill. As far as the South is concerned, I have rarely heard the bill discussed as an educational measure. Apparently, the whole affair is regarded as the declaration of a righteous war against the Catholics by the Masons. It is very unfortunate that the bill was introduced by a Southern Senator, representing a State in which bigotry of the vilest kind is rampant. Whatever may have been his intentions, one effect of his work has been to stir up hatred of all things Catholic, and to strengthen bigots in their determination to destroy all schools which hold the name of Jesus and His Blessed Mother in honor.

New Orleans.

J. W.

Did Moore Die a Catholic?

To the Editor of AMERICA:

Mr. Cummins's quotation from the Dublin *Catholic Guardian* of May 8, 1852, in his letter to AMERICA, of September 25, does not really add anything new to, or tend to modify, the statements I made in my original article on the subject.

The *Guardian's* account of Moore's "conscientious study" and "researches" on the claims of the Catholic Church are simply a reference to his writing his book "Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion." Moore's words, "Hail to thee, thou only true Church," etc., are a quotation from the closing pages of the book. When he wrote these words he had for long years lived without Mass or Sacraments, and had had his children educated as Protestants. He lived for some eighteen years after he wrote them, and still was a Catholic only in name. One might almost wish that there was not on record this evidence that he saw so clearly the claims of the faith, which he had practically renounced, when as a young student of Trinity College he told his mother he would not again go to Confession. It is a sad story. Nothing is gained by trying to explain away unpleasant facts. One can only hope that, even though no priest was near him, he had grace to make amends and prepare for the end as the darkness settled down upon him and death drew nigh.

London.

A. HILLIARD ATTERIDGE.

Literary Sneers at Ireland

To the Editor of AMERICA:

Your reviewer, in a well written critique of Philip Gibbs' book on his impressions of our States, wonders that a Catholic could be so unfair to Ireland. Of course, it is a favorite weakness of English Catholic writers to sap the reputation of the isle of saints with a literary sneer. Richard Dehan (Clotilde Graves) does the same thing in her novels. In "The Dope Doctor," or "One Braver Thing," the brute who destroys "Lynette," to be sure, is Irish. I have an idea that Mistress Richard is a convert too. I know I have been so angry at her that I have flung her books against the wall. But Katharine Tynan is Irish, or was born that way, and yet in some of her writings, she truly leans to England against the land of her fathers. I suppose Katharine married an Englishman, and a good wife votes like her husband. Poor Ireland, even pens stab her more cruelly than swords.

Orrtanna, Pa.

WILL W. WHALEN.

A M E R I C A

A · CATHOLIC · REVIEW · OF · THE · WEEK

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1920

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Our Crime Record and the Cause

IN a recent report, Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick comes very near saying that we Americans are uncivilized. At least, we have no great "respect for the terms on which civilized communities keep the peace." Mr. Fosdick does not deal in generalities, but bases his conclusions on a comparative study of criminals abroad and criminals at home. Some facts cited by him are startling. Could we attribute them to Berlin or Paris we might preach a most edifying sermon contrasting American uprightness with foreign wickedness. But the facts form our own indictment and conviction.

The London Metropolitan District, for instance, with a population of 7,500,000, had precisely nine "premeditated" murders in 1916. Chicago, with one-third of this population, had 105. In that same year there were twenty more murders in Chicago, with a population of 2,500,000, than in England and Wales, with a population of about 38,000,000. New York's record is not quite so black. For nine murders in London in 1916, there were fifty-four in New York. Liverpool and St. Louis have approximately the same population, but in 1916 St. Louis had eleven times as many murders. In 1917, Los Angeles, with five per cent of London's millions, had ten more murders. The figures for burglary, highway robbery, and other forms of violence, hold to the same proportion. In 1917 Los Angeles had 128 more robberies than England, Wales and Scotland combined, and in 1919 New York exceeded the record of these three countries by 2,146. Nor can this appalling record be laid to the foreign-born among our people. "If their offenses were stricken from the calculation," writes Mr. Fosdick, "our crime record would still greatly exceed the record of western Europe."

With all its kindness and good nature, the temper of our communities contains a strong strain of violence. We condone violence, and shirk its punishment. We lack a high instinct for order. We lack a sense of the dignity of obedience to restraint, demanded for the common good. . . . As to the fact of our excessive criminality, the statistics furnish startling evidence.

"Excessive criminality" is strong language, but justified by the plain facts. Back of these facts are many causes, some obscure, but one perfectly clear. Americans were once a religious people. Today they are not. Only forty per cent have any connection with any religion, and of these connections some are purely nominal. About sixty per cent are absolutely dissociated from any definite form of religious belief and practice.

Washington long ago warned us against the pernicious belief that morality could be maintained without religion. But we formed a school system which took the child and taught him on the theory that our liberties depended upon the complete separation of education from religion. For more than seventy years the majority of our children have been trained in schools from which religion is excluded. And in 1920, after a study of the police records, Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick can announce that we are a people among whom "excessive criminality" flourishes. We are beginning, and only beginning, to reap the whirlwind.

Another Federal Department

POLITICS and honest principle, as some wise man has remarked, make strange bed-fellows. A new political party is now in control, or will be, after March 4, 1921. If it is wise, it will use its great power not primarily for the division of political loot, but to effect at once a policy of national economy. And this policy will have no countenance for new Federal Departments, or other "wild cat" schemes to add heavy financial burdens to the load already carried by the people. That the leaders of the party recognize this pressing obligation is clear from many interviews published since election day. It is also clear that the party-politicians recognize this duty, yet as through a haze of Federal gold and treasury certificates. Thus in close conjunction with one of these interviews, the Washington correspondent of the New York Herald writes on November 4:

Harding has indicated a desire that women be represented in the cabinet, obviously in some post of special interest to women—a Department of Social Justice, say. As a matter of political expediency, the proposition has its good points.

So soon? The Washington correspondent cannot claim to speak for the President-elect, but there can be little doubt that he speaks for the practical politicians who look upon the noble science of government as founded on principles of mere "expediency." But he is correct in saying that a Federal Department of Social Justice finds its only right to consideration as "a matter of political expediency." It is nothing else, but even as an expedient it is of doubtful value. There is a general impression throughout the country that we have too

many office-holders. The new Department would be a bid for Republican votes among women, and would furnish many a hungry and deserving party-worker with a comfortable position at Washington, but the salvation of the Republican party does not lie in that direction. As the Democrats during the last four years, so the Republicans must be prepared to take the blame for disasters with which they have no connection whatever. If the Republican party does not prevent the establishment of new and unnecessary Departments and abolish useless branches of the public service, the next election will number its 1920 victories with the snows of yesteryear.

Religious Instruction in the Public Schools

THE proposition to afford public school children the benefit of some religious instruction is still under consideration in New York. It is approved by many of New York's best citizens, and opposed by an array which, among respectable men and women, numbers a few of the choicest specimens of the *genus* bigot that can be found in the entire country. These misguided individuals labor under the delusion that the proposition is a papistical scheme to bring the entire United States under the control of the Bishop of Rome, whereas, in sober truth, the plan was first advanced by a union of Protestant churches. No one has yet voiced an authoritative Catholic opinion, and Catholics seem divided, not only on the possibility of harmonizing the scheme with the existing school law, but on the advisability of adopting it if it be lawful.

Briefly, the plan is to dismiss the children for an hour of religious instruction once a week. The children will be dismissed only on the parents' request, and the instruction must be given outside the school building. It has been further suggested that the school board grant credits for such instruction; this point, however, is not yet formally before the Board. The Board would then exact some guarantee that the instruction be really instruction in religion, and not, for instance, in radical propaganda, and that the teachers be of proper character and academic training. The deliberations up to the present have centered on the possibility of giving any training at all. The actual details, it is proposed, can be worked out later.

The plan has many good points, and promises much. There is a general agreement that "something" must be done to correct the present system, but the question is, what shall that "something" be? It is easy to pick faults, as the *New York Times* does in an absurd article on November 10, "The Plan Must Be Rejected," and not so easy to suggest practical remedies. Yet the defects of the plan as proposed, do seem considerable, and perhaps insuperable. It might be useful in small communities, where it has actually won a certain degree of success, but New York is not a small community. Small groups of people, racially allied, and professing for the most part, cognate forms of religious belief, can easily come to an

agreement. But there is little "neighborhood" feeling in New York, quite too much racial hostility, and elements of religious discord have been introduced by the very mention of the plan.

The fault is not with the supporters of the plan, whose intentions are most praiseworthy, but with the system which they are endeavoring to tinker into good condition. The State system rests on the absurd philosophy that religion is no part of education, and that if you train a child's wits, and try to teach him that righteousness is the best policy, without at the same time, supplying him with a religious motive, the public school has done all that can be reasonably asked. One hour per week of religious instruction cannot do much to counteract the influence of nineteen hours per week in which the child is drilled according to a system which separates conduct from religion. As long as the underlying philosophy of the public system is retained, the introduction, even a *longe*, of religion, is apt to breed discord and bitterness, giving rise to the peculiar condition under which Jewish teachers are dismissed with pay on holidays, while Catholic girl-pupils are severely rebuked for absence occasioned by attendance at Mass on the Feast of All Saints.

These public discussions, all of which are tributes to the Catholic system, will do much good, yet Catholic parents must not be led into the delusion that a public school, conceding one hour a week for religious instruction, is the proper place for a Catholic child. The Catholic child has an inalienable right to a thorough training in religion. Can he get this training in one instruction per week? Theology is clear in its teaching that parents who do not safeguard the child's right to a Catholic education are guilty of grievous sin.

The Perils of Jargon.

IN a pleasant lecture that Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch gave his Cambridge students on the perils of literary jargon, he turned into journalese Hamlet's renowned soliloquy on suicide and produced this:

To be or the contrary? Whether the former or the latter be preferable would seem to admit of some difference of opinion; the answer in the present case being of an affirmative or of a negative character according as to whether one elects on the one hand to mentally suffer the disfavor of fortune, albeit in an extreme degree, or on the other to boldly envisage adverse conditions in the prospect of eventually bringing them to a conclusion. The condition of sleep is similar to, if not indistinguishable from that of death; and with the addition of finality the former might be considered identical with the latter: so that in this connection it might be argued with regard to sleep that could the addition be effected, a termination would be put to the endurance of a multiplicity of inconveniences, not to mention a number of downright evils incidental to our fallen humanity, and thus a consummation achieved of a most gratifying nature.

Had Shakespeare been merely a hack journalist he might indeed have written the soliloquy in the foregoing style; but who in the world would care to read the passage now? Tired journalists, however, are by no means the only class of people whose besetting sin is an addic-

tion to jargon, for every trade, profession or calling necessarily has its technical words, stock phrases and esoteric terms which become jargon only when they are used to obscure thought, to rob words of their obvious meaning, and to avoid the labor of expressing ideas exactly. Most slang, for example, rapidly becomes jargon. It is the cheap verbal currency of those who are intellectually too indolent or poverty-stricken to seek the word that will express their thought with clearness and precision. Meaningless circumlocutions, banal expressions, cant terms, "bromides," are the snares that always lie in the path of the "facile writer" or the "ready speaker," and he can seldom avoid them all. But by shunning the excessive use of abstract nouns, by safeguarding himself from the germs of "adjectivitis," by conquering the fear of using the same word again and again provided it makes his meaning clear, and by avoiding the use of all terms that have ceased to be the means of expressing exact ideas, many of the perils of jargon can be escaped.

The Abbé's "American Notes"

THE ABBÉ ERNEST DIMNET, a distinguished priest of France, who visited this country last winter in quest of contributions for the Catholic University of Lille, tells the readers of the November *Harper's* his impressions of "Some Intellectual Aspects of Americans." After giving a salutary piece of advice to those who are "trying to make Protestants of us" [French], he urges rich Americans who really wish "to improve religion in France," to direct their efforts to developing Catholicism. "I should endow seminaries, found convents, encourage people who fast and go barefooted, [and] send the best Catholic literature to [poor] country priests." But the most penetrating and discerning paragraphs in the Abbé Dimnet's "Notes" are those containing his reflections on the so-called "right to happiness" our young Americans claim for themselves. He writes:

French people still cherish the lesson handed down from the simple medicine of past generations, that you stand a good chance

of being well if you keep "your head cool, your feet warm, and your heart cheerful." But cheerfulness to the French of those wise epochs was the same thing with content and content is terribly near resignation. The French girl was (and still is) taught that *il faut souffrir pour être belle*, and neither she nor her brother was very much surprised to read in their religious books that we must suffer in order to be happy. Happiness in its highest meaning was regarded as something sacred, the initial stage of the celestial bliss. The crude modern notion which we express by the word happiness was condemned as an idol or mirage born of the heat of passion, and was branded as mere pleasure.

I should advise American mothers to keep the pursuit of happiness out of their daughters' constitution if they cannot keep it out of their country's. A girl who is given to understand every minute that she has a right to a good time is sure to declare before long that she wonders when the good time is coming, even if she has it at every hour. Do not make fastidious artists in happiness. Keep on the safe Puritan side; it does not always mean thin lips and spectacled eyes shooting reproach around at random. I am afraid the idea of happiness is made an obsession by a great deal of apparently moral literature. There is certainly a relation between the mushy advice daily doled out to hair-splitting girl questioners by dozens of Aunt Margarets or Cheery Mabels and the stuff we read last March in the pitiful diary of that Ruth Somebody who killed herself in Chicago because, she said, happiness was only a word.

Is one very much surprised to hear an experienced American magistrate say that sixty divorces out of a hundred are not caused by any real incompatibility, or, above all, by any cruelty, and would never have taken place had not one of the parties had a more or less sudden vision of greater happiness in a new venture? The fact is that in America, as well as in France, we are confronted with the substitution of the right to happiness for a moral or religious principle.

The Abbé emphasizes in the foregoing passage a principle that our young people ought to make their own. The main purpose of our being in this world is the quest of perfection rather than of happiness. Without clouds there would be no beautiful sunsets, and the character that has not been refined and chastened by crosses borne with resignation lacks attractiveness. The youth or maiden who has never learned the disciplinary value of renunciation and self-denial is quite incapable, clearly, of gauging properly the true worth of whatever "happiness" this world can offer.

Literature

LOUISE IMOGEN GUINEY

ON the morning after the national election there appeared in the newspapers amid the fuss and fury and excited headlines a brief dispatch from London announcing the death of Louise Imogen Guiney at Chipping-Camden. I am feign to believe that there were many who lost all interest in the political contests and read no more that day after encountering that modest little item. Presidents can be replaced; but not a true poet, whose departure leaves the mournful impression of inexorable nightfall. In an age echoing with poetic voices Miss Guiney's high gift of song, cultivated by sound scholarship, sternly disciplined to the requirements of the most exacting art, and controlled by the majestic laws of a divine and cherished Faith, displayed a finished grace and distinction which won the

affection and increased the self-respect of all Americans who watched with discerning interest the progress of letters in their native land. This loss ought to be especially keen to Catholics. I know at least one good judge of poetry who has repeatedly declared in public lectures that Miss Guiney was the best woman-poet of our time in England and America. It is sad to see them going away one by one, our clean and pure-hearted Catholic poets.

I hope we shall hear in due course some details about this reserved and reticent lady who shrank from deliberate publicity as from a "rowdy" performance. The personality of a poet, like his home, has its sacred privacies into which only the thoughtless will intrude. But, as the home may become a shrine after the poet's death, so the personality of a poet, at least of a

poet who has tuned her instrument to the choirs of Light and always strove valiantly to put her own life in sweet concord with her high singing, has as it were its obligations of posthumous disclosure. It is sure to contain hints not only of noble art, but also of noble living which ought not to go down into darkness. I would like to be able to satisfy legitimate curiosity about Miss Guiney's life and rare personality; but beyond what is contained in the popular books of reference, meager information enough, I am afraid I can contribute little to the general knowledge. During the last ten years I was the happy recipient of letters, alas, too few, from her, in which there were dropped now and then casual words about her work and surroundings. I never saw her and can give no idea of her appearance.

It is curious, when I think of it now, that my mind hardly ever adverted to her age. I knew, whenever the subject was forced upon my attention, that she must be well beyond middle life, approaching the sixties; but her letters and her published pieces always contained, besides the composure of a wise and gentle maturity, a youthful eagerness of mind and hopefulness of outlook which prevented me from seeing her bowed down by years. Her father, Patrick Robert Guiney, came to this country in his childhood and after attending Holy Cross College studied law and was admitted to the Massachusetts bar. At the breaking out of the Civil War he promptly enlisted as a private and took part in thirty engagements, meriting by his valor and intelligence promotions up to that of Brigadier General. At the expiration of the war he resumed the practice of law and died in 1877 at the early age of forty-two from wounds received in the service of his country. I surmise that he left his young daughter in somewhat straitened circumstances. If my surmise be true we can only admire the courage and constancy which kept the pen of Miss Guiney consecrated to the high dreams of perfection which remunerative popularity does so much to displace in the career of writers. Soon after her graduation from Elmhurst Academy, conducted by the Religious of the Sacred Heart in Providence, she won her way into periodicals of high literary standing and challenged serious attention by the publication of "The White Sail and Other Poems" in 1887. For some twenty years thereafter other publications followed with fair regularity, directed in careful prose and verse to a limited and exclusive circle of readers. The "American Catholic Who's Who" gives a list, not quite complete, of these publications. In 1904 Miss Guiney spent some time in England preparing her monograph on Hurrell Froude. She must have found the scholar's life in England congenial and pleasant; for, in 1909, she fixed her abode there permanently.

We are inclined to be harsh in judging the motives of an American who leaves his country for voluntary residence in England. Perhaps Miss Guiney's choice was not voluntary: I do not know. But I do know there was nothing of the snob, social or intellectual, about her. She was by nature and habits, it is true, an intellectual aristocrat, with the fine devotions, noble reminiscences and high manners of aristocracy, entirely devoid of its hauteurs and consciousness of rank. She could not help being wounded by anything less than the best and moaning over it quietly, in a letter perhaps, but not in blatant print. She was pitifully eager to welcome the remotest promise of excellence, especially as it appeared in her own America. Any small kindness shown to her received swift and humbly grateful recognition.

I suspect the reason for her preference must be sought in the character of her genius. Her literary instinct had strong archaeological proclivities. She was, to employ the speech of one of her own characters, a "Notorious Carolian specialist, a quasi-Cavalier, a pre-Jacobite, a seventeenth centurion." Writing to me a year ago, "I wish," she said, "you were in this old land instead of our own untraditioned West." Old and memorized places held for her a fascination which was not less than irresist-

ible. And next to old places she loved old books, old houses and old churches. They recalled Catholic days when the still surviving influences of faith saved letters, as she said, "from the excess of individualism which is the ruin of art today." She lived for the most part in Oxford until 1916 in the center of revered memorials and treasures of books. Her life was that of a scholarly recluse, with short trips made necessary by her health or literary labors. I note that in the winter of 1911 she was staying in Falmouth. In a letter from South Wales, dated October 1915, she says she is living with a young girl-cousin, a cat and a dog (readers of "Patrins" could count on the dog) "down here at the far end of Wales, as wild, as beautiful, and as untrodden as most of the coast of Maine between Old Orchard and Bar Harbor. One hardly expects that in these age-old realms." But she is back again at Oxford before the month is out. She speaks of a "cranky" heart, and Oxford becomes too much for her the following year. "I am living forty miles west of Oxford. The horror-breathing motor-bus now inhabits that once sacred spot; as for me, I promptly fled. This is the long-loved Cotswold ground. Picture me in an ancient stone-roofed thick-walled hive, hung on a steep hillside of paradisaical views, with the east window of a Priory church looking at me across the valley." Here in Grangeleigh, Amberly, she lived with her cousin until the summer of last year, when the sale of their house obliged them to move.

What was she doing all this time? I am not informed, but I believe she busied herself much in editing seventeenth-century texts for English publishers. She frequently mentions with enthusiasm a labor of love which she was prosecuting in collaboration with Father Geoffrey Bliss, the Jesuit poet, to be entitled "The Recusant Poets." The work was begun in 1914, but was held up by the war and by the desire to gain information about Crashaw's Roman life. I have not heard of its publication. When it appears it will afford a mine of information for which Catholic students of literature have long been waiting. It seemed to me all her energies and talents got their inspiration from her Faith. In one of her letters she quotes Lacordaire's saying to Montalembert: "*Eh bien, eh bien. Crucifions-nous à nos plumes.*" And she was swept by admiration for the clean-hearted men and women, wherever they were, who consecrated their highly endowed pens to the service of the holiest of all causes.

She never grew contemptuous except towards vulgarisms of unbelief, and she toiled without counting the cost to rescue delicate Catholic flowers of literature from under the hoofs of a pagan world. She forgot all about herself and her own creative gift in seeing to it that shy and retiring geniuses like James Clarence Mangan, Lionel Johnson, and Father Gerard Hopkins came into their birthright of public recognition. The appearance of Joyce Kilmer filled her with delight. "He is the best kind of literary soldier of Christ: I take an American pride in him and his clearness and cleanness." And again, "Please tell Joyce Kilmer how thrillingly good I found his sonnet on dear Rupert Brooke." In September of 1916 she writes: "Please tell Mr. Kilmer, when next you write to him, that I don't forget him. He is a Great Asset, besides being, I suspect, a Dear." She refers to his death as going "his Knightly way to God. A sharp loss it was to the Faith and to the Art in America." In the same generous and enthusiastic fashion she welcomed Mrs. Kilmer's book of poems, calling it "an absolutely beautiful success," "verses to be loved by fellow-craftsmen, as well as by people with hearts."

An American and a Catholic, she wore her inheritance of Irish lineage with pride as well as with distinction. Readers of "Patrins," that book of exquisitely done essays, must have often recalled in recent years what Miss Guiney wrote twenty-one years ago in the closing paragraph of her penetrating little paper on Ireland. "The tragic cloud hangs there. Foreboding, unrest, are stamped on the very water and sky, and on proud sen-

sitive faces. It was on a day in spring . . . on such a day of caprice and romance the true day of the Gael, a woman beautiful as the young Deirdre said to a stranger, walking the cliff-path at her side: 'No: we have never been conquered: we are unconquerable. But we are without hope.' One wonders whether the new hope is to be crushed by sheer brute force. The fateful Easter week found her on the side of the Nationalists. With a student's and a woman's shrinking from violence that seemed foolhardy and untimely, like many of us she held aloof from Sinn Fein. "There was one Robert Emmet; and the England that he had to face has died and been re-born." I think that judgment must have been altered by the events of the past year. She has left us at least one unforgettable poem of Irish inspiration.

I try to knead and spin, but my life is low the while,
Oh, I long to be alone, and walk abroad a mile,
Yet if I walk alone, and think of naught at all,
Why from me that's young should the wild tears fall?

It is not my purpose to give a critical estimate in detail of her literary accomplishment. Her prose, in which she treads with more deliberate steps than in her verse, is always satisfying to mind, imagination and ear. She possessed an unerring critical sense, always patient and keen, which could discover a needle of excellence in a haystack of commonplace. She was an admirable editor; but one regretted that creative capacity like hers was wasting itself in lackeying that of others. In both prose and verse there were subtle intimations of beautiful and storied backgrounds, Greek, Roman, and medieval, like the ravishing glimpses of distant landscapes in old Italian paintings.

Her poetry has the perfection of form which characterizes genuine passion for beauty. It is white and intense, burning itself out at one point. This perhaps may explain the inferiority of her narrative verse, and also the curious biographical fact that, like Francis Thompson, shortly after her prime she relinquished altogether the field of poetry. The kind of poetry she could write was too exhausting a drain upon any energies except those of abounding youth and strength. In 1909 she, as it were, formally withdrew from the company of poets by collecting the best of her lyrics and publishing them under the significant title, "Happy Ending." It is, to employ her own phrases, "a treasureable book," "an absolutely beautiful success." In it are "The Kings," the "Five Carols for Christmastide," the Oxford and London Sonnets, "The Wild Ride," "Autumn Magic," and that heart-piercing poem, half Greek and half Celtic, "A Friend's Song for Simoisius," besides many another flame-hearted gem.

The particularly lovely thing in her career, which can almost rob death of sorrow, is the perfect way in which, like Joyce Kilmer, she fused literature and her own life in a Catholic spirituality of robust sacrifices and saintly courtesies. May there be others coming to lift up the torches that have fallen from their hands! Let them wear upon their frontlets the creed of God's own singing men, as Louise Imogen Guiney declares it in her "*Deo Optimo Maximo*":

All else for use, One only for desire;
Thanksgiving for the good, but thirst for Thee:
Up from the best, whereof no man need tire,
Impel Thou me.

Delight is menace if Thou brood not by,
Power a quicksand, Fame a gathering jeer.
Oft as the morn (though none of earth deny
These three are dear),

Wash me of them, that I may be renewed,
And wander free amid my freeborn joys:
Oh, close my hand upon Beatitude!
Not on her toys.

JAMES J. DALY, S.J.

REVIEWS

The Art of Interesting, Its Theory and Practice. By FRANCIS P. DONNELLY, S.J. New York: P. J. Kennedy & Sons. \$1.75.

How arrest and hold the mind of your audience whether by the written page or the spoken word, in essay and story, in sermon or lecture? What methods and means must be mastered in order to do so? This is the central theme of Father Donnelly's book. The New York *Herald* thought, and rightly so, that both in matter and form "The Art of Interesting" was so striking and original that it dedicated some of the space reserved for the League of Nations to a brief analysis of the book's more striking characteristics. The volume deals, the *Herald* said, "with what is vulgarly known as 'pep' or 'jazz' in language, although the scholarly Jesuit does not use this slang." Don't be tiresome, says Father Donnelly, either in the essay or in the pulpit. In order not to be tiresome, use the imagination. Be direct, that is, say something to someone. In a sermon especially, have a definite subject and a definite audience. Bring theology down to the level of your hearer. Master the secrets of the imagination and see the marvels it accomplishes when brought to bear on the most abstruse subjects. Control the emotions, but bring them into play, avoid monotony, but don't let novelty turn to eccentricity, learn how originality may be developed through imitation. The last chapter of the book contains a set of practical exercises for the imagination. Some may wonder at this, for it will suggest the question whether they are reading a series of stimulating essays or poring over a text-book.

Of the general truth of Father Donnelly's conclusions, there can be no doubt. Great books survive, great sermons thrill and move through the human interest they excite. Fail to interest your audience and your audience fails you. It is not so much through matter as through form that masterpieces of literature live down the ages. The distinguished Jesuit, whose many years in a chair of literature give him a clear right to speak with more than usual authority, wisely emphasizes the need of simplicity, directness, even of unconventionality, of the homely, the specific. But, both in his text on page eight and in the accompanying note where he attacks ponderous dignity, which is the bane of many sermons, is he not himself afraid for once of his own theory, when referring to a passage from the Gospel, and does he not thus show that it must not be driven always to its logical conclusion? He will agree with such a master of style as Pascal who says that while we should usually say Paris when we mean that city, there are occasions when we must say "the capital of the kingdom." May we add that men of strong individuality like Father Pardow and Father Van Rensselaer can handle certain sacred subjects in a most unconventional way, which in others would lead to disaster. The lessons of the "Art of Interesting" are decidedly interesting, and timely. There is little trace of "slumberous triteness" inside its covers. Few readers will nod over its pungent paragraphs.

J. C. R.

The Romance of Madame Toussaud's. By JOHN THEODORE TOUSSAUD. With an Introduction by HILAIRE BELLOC. Illustrated. New York: George H. Doran Co., \$6.00.

The title of this volume is somewhat paradoxical but is highly suggestive both of the contents and the atmosphere of the work, for although it deals with facts and historical memories of unquestionable value, it is nevertheless tinged so strongly with the heroic and the mysterious as to take on a clearly defined romantic character. It is the story of a collection, made up mainly of wax works, technically called an "exhibition," the most famous of its kind in the world, and is the more remarkable because it is the product of a family of artists who have labored at it uninterruptedly through four generations

with an unvarying tradition of skill, accuracy and devotion. Beginning with the modest inception in the studio of Christopher Curtius, a physician of Berne and the uncle of Madame Toussaud, and its subsequent transfer to Paris, the history of the collection is traced through its growth under the direction of Madame Toussaud, its real founder, its removal to England and its many peregrinations until it reached its present habitat in London, where it occupies such a position that one must have seen it if he would say with any accuracy that he has seen London. The bulk of the book is made up of the narrative, which is informal but pleasing in style, of how the great celebrities of the past century and a half came to be modeled and of how they found their way into Madame Toussaud's, an event which gave them a strong claim to historical remembrance, for ephemeral personages were ruthlessly excluded, or else replaced. The range of the collection made may be estimated from the fact that it starts with the figures of Voltaire and Benjamin Franklin, both modeled from life, and is carried down to the very recent portraits of Edith Cavell and Kitchener.

This unique collection of the great outstanding figures of almost 150 years is of particular historical value in that, as Mr. Belloc remarks in his interesting introduction, the figures were made by contemporaries from personal sittings, or else under the suggestions and correction of intimate friends of the persons represented, or from death masks taken by the artists themselves, and are not merely faithful likenesses but are set in their proper historical perspective clothed at times with the very garments they actually wore and surrounded, as in the case of Napoleon, by the objects they actually used, or in that of the victims of the French Revolution, by the instruments of their tragic deaths. Undoubtedly the most valuable part of the collection is that which has to do with the Revolution. Madame Toussaud was on intimate terms with the members of the royal family and for years lived under the same roof with the sister of the monarch himself. There is a gruesome reality in the figures of this period, derived from the fact that the heads of those who fell under the guillotine were brought to the young girl, who afterwards became Madame Toussaud, and were modeled by her at the command and under the very eyes of the revolutionists. In this way the heads of Marie Antoinette and Robespierre and the others have an historical value beyond question. The illustrations, which though numerous, are not so many as could be desired, give to the text an abiding and absorbing interest.

J. H. F.

Freethinkers of the Nineteenth Century. By JANET E. COURTNEY, O. B. E. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

This remarkable book is a boomerang against the thesis of its author. For, though written in sympathy with Protestantism and free thought, it is really an arsenal of argument against them. The author maintains the thesis that the "great" freethinkers of the nineteenth century, Maurice, Arnold, Bradlaugh, Huxley, Stephen, Harriet Martineau and Kingsley, fought for the same ideal which we have realized after the Great War: freedom, liberty. In proof of this she writes a brief and fairly impartial biography of each, but the facts adduced disprove her thesis. For nothing could show better than this book the anarchy of ideas and ideals which prevailed among nineteenth-century Protestant and non-Catholic "thinkers." Like true Protestants, they protested against each other and against the universe. Mid-Victorian Protestantism was a kingdom divided against itself. Bradlaugh damned Arnold, Arnold and the elect anathematized Bradlaugh, the "orthodox" shuddered at the Darwinism and frank skepticism of Huxley, while he laughed immoderately at them, and the other freethinkers sketched in this book were quite as intolerant and inconsistent, yet Miss Courtney assures us that all these "thinkers," striving for the same end in unconscious collaboration, furnished posterity with

an ideal and an inspiration during the World War. For they were champions of liberty.

Can good come of evil, order from chaos? Can truth contradict truth? Everything is one and true to its nature. There is a true liberty, a true progress, a true religion. But these muddle-headed anarchists evolved fantastic ideas from the web of their own minds. Their private judgment was the measure of all things, finite and infinite. Theirs was an ultra-individualism that brooked no authority, not even that of God's revealed Word. Such individualism fails to recognize in its true relation the principle of authority which is an essential element of true liberty. Consequently it necessarily results in anarchy, which, being impossible and intolerable in any polity, in turn produces despotism for the sake of order. The thesis of the book is therefore untenable, but the volume demonstrates, by the inexorable logic of facts, the natural results of the Protestant principle of private judgment.

F. A. M.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

Capital and Labor.—Dr. Ryan's pamphlet on "Capital and Labor" gives an excellent summary of the present industrial situation. It shows the conditions actually existing in the labor world, the danger from limited output, the difference of interests between capital and labor where there is question of the share that each one is to receive in the division of the product, and the possibilities of cooperation as they actually present themselves today. The necessity of freedom of representation on the part of labor is maintained as fundamental and indispensable to the common interests of both parties to the labor contract. Particularly important is the discussion of participation in management and the various forms of shop committees through which it is carried into practical effect. The author's main contention rightly is that labor unionists on the one hand, and employers on the other should recognize the necessity of harmonizing the various forms of industrial democracy now in use with the national labor unions. The reasonableness of settling disputes by arbitration is again emphasized. The pamphlet is available for a nominal sum from the offices of the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Council, at Washington, D. C.

Sacred Music. "Missionary Hymns" (Mission Press, Techny, Ill.), by Thomas Karczynski, is a little collection of Mass hymns, whose main theme is the welfare of the foreign missions. The text is excellent but more variety in melody would improve the collection. "Twenty-Five Offertories for the Principal Feasts of the Year" for voices in unison (with organ), (J. Fischer & Bro. Score \$0.80, Voice part \$0.40), by Joseph Vranken is a useful collection of liturgical motets that can easily be sung where part-singing is impossible. "The Holy Hour," a sacred song by Gladys T. Ecker, words by James Ecker, is published by The Boston Music Co. net \$0.60. The music is simple, tuneful, and devout. "Chants Populaires de la Messe et des Vêpres, et Choix de Motets pour les Saluts" (Maison Alfred Mame et Fils, Tours), by A. Fleury, is a serviceable collection of Masses and Motets in Gregorian and modern style, suited to the needs of parishes where French is spoken.

Heterodox Letters.—The mists of obscurity are gathering about the name of George Tyrrell. For a time he drew the eye of the public as the protagonist of a cause that appealed marvelously to the unthinking and the conceited; today the falsity of his intellectual position is fairly established. To a controversy that is now settled and settled forever, Miss M. D. Petre, in her newest collection of "George Tyrrell's Letters" (Dutton, \$7.00) adds nothing that is pertinent or new, and much that will only pain many who prefer to think with kindly

regret of the last years of an unfortunate man. One letter alone is of melancholy interest in showing that he had lost the Faith, or at least, could permit himself to write as one to whom the Faith was dead, as early as 1900.—"The Power of Prayer, a Collection of the Walker Trust Essays" (Macmillan) contains twenty-one papers on prayer, all written by non-Catholics of various Christian and pagan sects, except one, entitled "Under the Guidance of the Church", whose author is the Rev. J. P. Murphy of Cherubusco, New York. As a consequence of this diversity of authorship readers untrained in theology will find the book strange in phrase and thought, but on the other hand the volume will be of service to professors and to students of contemporary religious thought.

Good Novels.—Enid Dinnis' novel, "Mr. Coleman, Gent," (Kenedy, \$2.25) is a success in a new field for the author of "Mystics All." The romance has reconstructed the tragic story of the enigmatic victim of the Oates plot, variously described as a bungler and a scholar, an ascetic and a *bon-vivant*, a depraved criminal and "the venerable Edward Coleman, martyr," and has interfused the story with true love, and the light-hearted spirit of Catholic devotion and self-sacrifice, even to martyrdom—"Verena in the Midst" (Doran, \$1.90), by E. V. Lucas, is the pleasant story of Aunt Verena Raby, who slipped on the ice and injured her spine, so she had to keep to her bed and her nine relatives and her many friends write letters to entertain her. Some of the letter-writers are Horace Mun-Brown with a small income and a sanguine disposition, Septimus Tribe, an impecunious barrister with not too vivacious a disposition who feels he would be an acquisition at Verena's bedside if hired as her lawyer; Roy Barrance, a young Lochinvar; Louisa Parrish, who always fears for the worst, and Nicholas Devose, an old admirer of Aunt Verena. The letters unwind the slight thread of the narrative, and at the same time reveal very cleverly the characters of the writers.—"Ursula Finch" (Benziger, \$2.25) is the latest creation of Miss Isabel Clarke. From every point of view it seems to be the equal of any in the long list of interesting and Catholic tales which the author has written. Ursula is a noble example of filial devotion, while the character of her beautiful but heartlessly selfish sister Daphne, is rendered both by the clever novelist and by nature thoroughly despicable. True to the exigencies of poetic justice, Ursula meets in the end true happiness, temporal and spiritual. Daphne, however, should have been reduced to downright poverty. She gets off too easily. But Miss Clarke's solution of Daphne's fate is perhaps more true to life.

Non-Catholic Philosophy.—When one reads Mr. Clement C. J. Webb's "Divine Personality and Human Life" pp. 291. (Macmillan) and then notes the comment of a reviewer of his first course, "God and Personality" that Mr. Webb ought to found a new school of philosophy, one begins to blink a bit and wonder what is wrong. For a philosopher, the writer makes one painfully conscious of a certain definition of metaphysics: "It's looking in a dark room for a black hat that ain't there," the only difference being that we may have to hunt for the dark room. With disconcerting dilettantism Mr. Webb whisks about and shows himself conversant with a deal of opinions, the omitted mention of which would have helped his thought to a needed clearness and made his word more intelligible. A bit of training in the unmodern science of definitions, dear to Aristotle and his legacy to scholasticism, would benefit Mr. Webb enormously. On page 17 he brings over from his former lectures the misleading concept that a personal God is a God with whom a personal relationship is possible for his worshipers. That is not an ultimately satisfying definition, as it is *ex concessariis*. On page 24 the author misses the Boethian definition of "personality," refusing it to children. On page 41 he says,

"We prefer therefore to speak of a Reason, immanent in the process of life, a phrase which explains little or nothing, but with which we cannot perhaps dispense." That is a rather damaging admission especially as it follows a passage wherein the author shows that he misunderstands the teleological argument from instinctive actions of animals. Finally when one reads his chapter on "Divine Personality and the Religious Life," one realizes why religion holds no sway over many hearts, as such foundations of belief are worthless.—The publishers say of H. G. Enelow's "A Jewish View of Jesus" (Macmillan, \$1.50) that it is one-sided, as indeed it is, but not in the sense they mean. With a few slurs on the "metaphysicians" and "theologians," the author proceeds to assert—for assertion is a major portion of the work—that a knowledge of the psychology, the Galilean origin and the Judaism of Our Lord solves the whole character of Him whom Mr. Enelow calls "the arch-idealist." There is no room for the Divinity of Christ in this exceedingly "one-sided" book.

A Bad Mixture.—John Burroughs writes so sweetly and intelligently about birds, squirrels and all the other wild creatures of field and forest and mountain that it is a pity he does not confine his pen to such topics. For when he leaves them and attempts to explore the depths of philosophy and theology he emerges a sorry figure, indeed. His latest book, "Accepting the Universe" (Houghton Mifflin, \$2.00) is a farcical jumble of crude ideas. The volume is supposed to explain the universe and some of the problems thereof. How it does so may be judged from some typical citations from its pages. Thus, for instance, the God and the devil of our fathers "are identical with the material forces that then ruled and shaped the world and these forces, by any other name, are of the same impersonal, impartial, unforgiving character as is disclosed in our dealings with them today . . . Nature is both God and devil— all our dreams of perfection, of immortality, of the good, of the beautiful, the true, all veneration and religious aspirations— this is Nature too. . . . The God he (man) worships is his own shadow cast upon the heavens, and the devil he fears is his own shadow likewise. The divine is the human, magnified and exalted: the satanic is the human, magnified and debased." And so the books run on for 328 pages, a volume which will make the judicious grieve that John Burroughs' friends did not save him from the shame of it.

Apologetics in French.—Our readers will be interested to learn that the sixteenth instalment of the "*Dictionnaire Apologétique de la Foi Catholique*" (Paris: Beauchesne), which has been repeatedly praised in AMERICA for its orthodoxy, scholarship and grasp of modern questions, is quite in keeping with the high standards maintained in previous fascicles under the direction of the Abbé A. D'Ales. The most interesting subject for English readers in the present number, (pages 962-1279) is the exhaustive article on "Anglican Orders" by Sydney Smith, S. J. The most important of the other articles are a study of "Pagan Mysteries and St. Paul," and "Religions of Northern Europe."—"La Parousie," by Louis Cardinal Billot, S. J. (Beauchesne), discusses with great learning the *parousia* or second coming of Our Lord. Non-conservative theologians seize on the moot passages as the easiest means whereby to prove mistaken pronouncements made by Christ or His Apostles, while these latter wrote under inspiration. Even among Catholic theologians the dispute has been loud and one of the recent decrees of the Biblical Commission was along these lines. It is therefore with expectant pleasure that we pick up a work on this subject by the learned and splendidly conservative Cardinal Billot. Nor are we disappointed, for with wonted clearness and incisiveness of thought, his by racial and individual endowment, he conducts us through the different passages in the Gospels, the Epistles and

the Apocalypse. There is no lack of scholarly precision nor any least hesitancy of adherence to traditional Catholic views. It was certainly well worth while to collect and republish in one volume these papers first given to the world in the *Etudes*. There is only one defect in the book, a defect unfortunately characteristic of most French books, and this is its lack of an exhaustive index.

A Puritan Anthology.—Mr. William P. Trent and Benjamin W. Ellis have gone through the writings of the early New Englanders and culled a serviceable volume of "Readings from Colonial Prose and Poetry" (Crowell) now republished in one closely-printed, thin-paged volume. "The Transplanting of Culture, 1607-1650," "The Beginnings of Americanism, 1650-1710" and "The Growth of the National Spirit, 1710-1775" is the three-fold division of the book. Nearly all the selections are from Puritan authors, the Middle Atlantic colonies receiving little attention and Catholic Maryland being overlooked altogether. The anthology is depressing reading, for the blighting Calvinism of New England pervades the book.

EDUCATION

The College Man in Government

ONCE upon a time I had a little pamphlet. It was in praise of the college man. To annex permanently a suitably paying position, all the college man need do was to ask. Hard experience has since led me to believe either that the author of that pamphlet had omitted the Eighth Commandment from his Decalogue, or that he was a person who moved habitually in a rosy haze. One detail that sticks to my memory is his contention that the Constitution of the United States had been "written" by Thomas Jefferson. As the Constitution was framed in 1787, and Jefferson was in France from 1784 to October, 1789, he must have used a telautograph in his work, a feat even for a college man. Against this claim, I may set a line appearing this morning in the New York papers, "College graduates! I've had three of 'em. What I want is a man." Which is a smart fling, and nothing more. One of the best tributes to the college graduate that I can find is that he does not invariably measure manhood in terms of mercantile success.

PRESIDENTS, SENATORS, GOVERNORS, JUDGES

IT may be taken for granted, I suppose, that with all his faults the college graduate is not doomed to failure, as the sparks fly upward. He has, of course, distinguished himself in the learned professions; there are even men on Wall Street, and men of large mercantile interests, who have passed through four years at college without detriment to their ability to make money. But in the affairs of government, the collegian has been conspicuous, I think I may say, for faithful and intelligent service.

Of the twenty-seven Presidents, up to and including President Wilson, nineteen, or more than two-thirds, have been college-bred men. Sixteen or fifty-five per cent, held degrees, the other three, Monroe, the elder Harrison, and McKinley having left college before the completion of the course. Including President-elect Harding, who ranks with these three, because his college suspended operations, I believe, before young Harding could graduate, of twenty-eight Presidents, twenty-one, or exactly seventy-five per cent, are college-bred. The significance of these figures is heightened when it is remembered that the proportion of the college-trained to the untainted-by-college, is always small. In 1899, when the population of the country was about 76,000,000, it was estimated that there were about 1,000,000 with some university or college work to their credit. Today with

a population of 105,000,000, the college-bred may number 1,800,000.

But in public life, the representatives of these few are forging to the front. It is interesting to note that of the four candidates of the two great parties, both vice-presidential candidates are college graduates. Senator Harding's career has been narrated, while the academic history of Governor Cox closed with the completion of the high school course.

The Senate shows the same general proportions. In the Senate of the present Congress, the Sixty-sixth, out of ninety-six members, seventy-one, or nearly seventy-four per cent, are either college graduates or have some college credits. Twenty-five Senators, or twenty-six per cent, did not go to college. Taking the college-bred proportion of the population as approximately two per cent, it appears that this inconsiderable minority furnishes nearly three times as many Senators as the majority group.

In the Supreme Court, the minority again scores, the proportion being about seventy-eight to twenty-two. One justice has no college training, one did not complete the course, and seven were graduated.

The diplomatic service is studded with college men. The ambassadors to Great Britain, Japan, Russia, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, are college graduates. The ambassador to Italy spent three years at college but did not take his degree. The ambassadors to France, Mexico, and Belgium, have no college training. Of the ambassadors, temporarily recalled, to Berlin, Vienna, and Constantinople, the first is a college graduate, and the others have some years of college residence. Without exception all our ambassadors have either honorary degrees, degrees won in course, or some college connection. The score then stands with seven out of thirteen ambassadors college graduates, or about fifty-five per cent, ten, or seventy-seven per cent with college training, and three, or twenty-three per cent, without college training.

The forty-eight State chief executives show a varied group. Thirty-one or nearly two-thirds, have an Alma Mater, sixteen or one-third hold degrees in course, sixteen have no college training, and for one I can obtain no data.

BUILDERS OF THE REPUBLIC.

WITH the dusty statistics of the past I have no intimate acquaintance, but I think that this unequal proportion of college men in government has been maintained from the beginning. About twenty years ago, Dr. J. C. Jones of the University of Missouri made special studies in this field, and I give some results as quoted in Bulletin 1917, No. 22, of the Bureau of Education, "The Money Value of Education" by A. C. Ellis.

In the Constitutional Convention, one of the most remarkable deliberative bodies ever convened in any country, of the fifty-four delegates, twenty-seven or fifty per cent were college-trained, and twenty-three, or about forty-two per cent held degrees. This proportion is the more remarkable when it is remembered that at that early period the college men could scarcely have formed more than one-half of one per cent of the population. We may, then, state the representation in another way by saying that this one-half of one per cent furnished the Convention with fifty per cent of its members. One of the Constitution's chief defenders was John Adams, B. A., while Madison, Hamilton and Jay, the three men who probably did most to explain the new instrument and to secure its adoption, were college graduates.

Dr. Charles F. Thwing, quoted in the same Bulletin, made a similar study of 15,142 men mentioned in Appleton's "Encyclopedia of American Biography." He concludes that in proportion to the total population, college men are sent to the Senate 530 times as often as non-collegians, are chosen President 1,392 times as often, and justices of the Supreme Court, 2,027

times as often. Dr. Jones, confining himself to a study of college graduates, omitting all whose courses were incomplete, gives the following *résumé*:

Less than one per cent of American men are college graduates. Yet this one per cent of college graduates has furnished

55% of our Presidents
36% of our members of Congress
47% of the Speakers of the House
54% of the Vice-Presidents
62% of the Secretaries of State
50% of the Secretaries of the Treasury
67% of the Attorneys-General
69% of the Justices of the Supreme Court.

Thus there may yet be a place in the world for the college man, so often berated by the individual who boasts that he is self-made, and by his boast proves that he is of sorry manufacture. Certainly, he has succeeded admirably in the very practical business of government. And as for the ladies, robed in academic silks, "rich as moths from dusk cocoons" what may we not hope from their descent upon this already gowned and hooded field!

JOHN WILTBYE,

SOCIOLOGY

Taxes and the High Cost of Living

ACCORDING to a recent treasury report, the debt of the United States at the present moment is something more than twenty-four billion dollars. On this debt an annual interest of one billion dollars is paid. Before 1914 the national debt could be invoked as a menace only by the political party out of power. Now it is keeping the leaders of the dominant party awake o' nights. Former campaigns turned into Waterloos for one party or the other, because of tinkering with the tariff. The present point of attack for the minority party is the management of the national debt by the Republicans. If ever a party came into power with a strict mandate from the people for economy, it is the party that has just been returned to Washington by an unprecedented vote. The war abroad has been succeeded by the war at home against the high cost of living. If the Republicans do not manage to avoid unnecessary expenditures and to cut down the debt by devices which will encourage and not check production, they may look for no mercy at the next election.

WHERE DOES PUBLIC MONEY COME FROM?

IN one of his last reports, Hon. Carter Glass, then Secretary of the Treasury, named unwise governmental expenditures as one of the most active factors in the rising cost of living. This very obvious statement was received by the press with exclamations of wonder which might properly have greeted the discovery of a new law in economics. The press only voiced the popular mind, and the mind of perhaps a majority of the men who hold the purse-strings at Washington. It is one of the many exhibitions of unconscious humor at Washington to observe how frequently sagebrush statesmen who think at home in terms of nickles and dimes, refuse to consider anything less than millions when under the dome of the capitol. Even grave and reverend Senators whose stewardship of their own fortunes is above all criticism, will not haggle over a dozen millions when the money of the people is in question. This extravagance is in keeping with the very common notion that whatever is received from the public treasury is received as a gift. It is never a gift. A brief period of reflection would disclose the fact that the Government has no money at all, except the money which it takes, directly or indirectly, from the people. Washington possesses no magic printing-press which pours forth paper money like a machine manipulated by a greengoods man. It has no private treasure-trove, bars of silver and ingots of gold, to be stamped into money for the people, a largesse like the *panem et circenses* of the degenerate Romans. Sound

treasury money, whether local, State or Federal, represents, and is guaranteed by, production, the labor of the people and the faith of the people. Government subsidies then, are never a gift. The people always pay for them, not so directly as if the Government thrust out its long arm for my purse, but quite as effectively. In making appropriations, Congress simply draws on money supplied by you and me.

VOTING MONEY AND PAYING IT

IF the Federal Government wishes more money, it cannot act like a railroad or a steel-corporation. It can get this money only by increasing its revenue, that is, by imposing new taxes. If it wishes to decrease its debt, it must use its current income for this purpose instead of financing new ventures. To vote money does not create money. It merely creates a new demand on the public's money.

If the Government had a philosopher's stone, or sources of revenue independent of the people, there would be no reason why any appropriation should be limited, and every reason why our representatives should set themselves to find additional ways of spending these resources for the public good. But since Government money, in the last analysis, is your money and mine, Congress is simply an administrator, bound to use all faithfulness in its stewardship. If every Congressman were as careful in public expenditures as he is in his own, Government expenses would decrease, and one of the most active of the causes of the high cost of living would cease to exist. These are very simple principles. But Congress and the people alike seem to forget them at times. Yet they bear intimately on the expenditures of every family in the country.

OUR DEBT OF \$24,000,000,000

IN a statement issued on November 8, the Secretary of the Treasury writes that if Congress adopts measures recommended by his Department, the annual tax-bill of four billion dollars need not be continued much beyond three years. If these measures are rejected, the Secretary believes that the bill will be increased, and with it, the cost of living. Within the next three years, about eight billion dollars in Victory notes, war-savings securities, and treasury certificates, will be due for payment. To the cost of their redemption must be added the current expenses of government. It will be seen that the Secretary does not lack faith in the efficiency of his recommendations. The total expenses for the last fiscal year were in excess of seven billion dollars. Some decrease may be looked for under ordinary circumstances, but only the most extraordinary skill and care will bring about a reduction to four billion dollars. To meet a grave situation, the Secretary advises the complete abolition of the excess-profit tax, believing that it discourages production; the substitution of a graduated income-tax, heavier than the present tax, applying to all salaries above \$5,000; and above all else, "the strictest economy" in Congressional expenditures. There are reasons for and against the abolition of the present excess-profit tax, but no argument whatever against the policy of "strictest economy."

TWO BILLS TO BE REJECTED

COMING to details, all unnecessary employees in the Departments and bureaus at Washington should be at once dismissed. Bureaus operating under Federal appropriations, but showing no real reason for existence by worth-while results, should be abolished, and all appropriations for existing bureaus and Departments must be cut to the bone. Certainly, no new Department should be created. As Senator Thomas and others have pointed out, it is not to be believed that the initial appropriation of \$100,000,000 assigned the proposed Federal Department of Education by the Smith-Towner bill, is static. That initial appropriations are doubled and tripled, and even in-

creased five and ten-fold within a few years, is a recognized feature of Congressional procedure. Even were the Smith-Towner bill constitutional, which it is not, or a necessary measure following the breakdown of the present local-control system, an absurd proposition to advance, it can never "equalize" the educational facilities of the country, on which the States spend annually about nine hundred million dollars, through subsidies slightly in excess of ten per cent of that sum. For the purpose of Federal reconstruction and control of the schools, the money-appropriation is too small. This supposition is based on the theory of the bill that money is the controlling factor. No detailed plan of reconstruction based on scientific principles of education has ever been advanced. To give "advice" no Department is needed, and no money. To secure control the money is necessary and a Department would be useful. The bill should either be sent on its way with an annual appropriation of one billion dollars, or rejected.

The defeat of any bill to establish a Federal Department of Social Welfare, carrying a "fifty-fifty" clause, is also demanded by the policy of economy and common sense. If the Federal Government does its part by securing, as far as the civil power can secure, equity and justice, and if it administers with wisdom the revenues of the country, social welfare will receive an impetus which can never be imparted by semi-socialistic schemes to invade personal rights, break down family pride and parental authority, and to squander the public's money. The high cost of living is one cause, and no impotent cause of a lack of social welfare. And let it be repeated that no inconsiderable factor, increasing the already high cost of living, is unwise governmental expenditure. If the Federal Government undertakes to build houses for the people, as Mr. Lawrence Veiller of New York suggests, to preside over the cradle, a cradle placed by preference in some Federal maternity home, to examine the teeth of the growing children, to warn them against venereal disease by means of slides and lecturers, and to assign what manner of school they may or must attend; if it is to help the father to find a job and to keep it, and bid the employer what to pay him, and meet his hospital bill, if he is injured or sick, train him for a new occupation, should the disability preclude return to his former avocation, and support his family in the non-productive period; if these things are to be done by the Federal Government, it is quite in order to ask "who is to pay the bill?"

There is but one answer. You and I will pay the bill.

THE REAL BILL-PAYER

IT'S an old story. The original producer includes his tax in the cost of production, and passes the bill along to the jobber. The jobber pays the producer's tax in paying a higher price for the goods, and into his own selling-price, he puts his own tax. The wholesaler goes through the same "this is the house that Jack built" process, and passes the bill on to the retailer. The retailer then proceeds to wonder what is going to happen. Because of increased municipal expenditures, the assessment on the store he rents has been raised. Therefore the owner passes the tax to the retailer by raising the rent. The retailer adds the increased rent to the selling-price of his goods. Thus you pay thirty-five cents for a bottle of catsup bought in a delicatessen-shop on Broadway, and twenty-eight or thirty cents for precisely the same article on Third Avenue, because rents have been recently advanced on Broadway. Therefore, to recapitulate, the retailer puts into the selling-price his own tax, the producer's tax, the jobber's tax and the wholesaler's tax. Then the man on the other side of the counter pays the bill.

Now ask him if he does not want to pay more for his goods, by establishing a Federal Department of Education to subsidize schools in Mississippi, and a Federal Department of Social Welfare to guarantee jobs for men in Florida. P. L. B.

NOTE AND COMMENT

A Union Cooperative for Blind Union Men

THROUGH the donations of the labor unions of Maryland State and the District of Columbia a band of blind union men, according to a communication to the *Carpenter*, has started a workshop for the purpose of giving employment at living wages to members of organized labor who have lost their sight. The new enterprise is known as the Union Broom Company, co-operative for the blind, and is located at 611 C Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Of the past experiences of blind workmen we are told:

The experience of members of organized labor in the past has been a bitter one. It meant in many cases the almshouse or the so-called workshops for the blind. These workshops have been a failure when a man has been compelled to earn a livelihood for himself and family, as the wages range from \$3 to \$7 per week—the latter sum being only reached by a very few. Such wages means that a man with dependents cannot hold his family together, and in many cases children have been placed in orphan asylums and the wives have been compelled to seek employment.

The blind workmen in the new establishment, who are now engaged in making brooms, are members of the Broom Makers' Union, and carry union labels on their brooms. Their intention is to enlarge the workshop and build an institution in which others, similarly afflicted, can be taught various trades suitable for the blind and earn a living wage. The encouragement union labor has given will soon enable them to open a large drive on the unions of the country to purchase ground and erect the necessary buildings for this purpose. Any member of organized labor, whose eyesight is gone or impaired, will here be afforded an opportunity to support himself and his family.

For the Greatest Task of the Hour: Our College Fund Campaigns

A GENEROUS response is everywhere being made to the campaigns for funds which Catholic colleges are obliged to inaugurate in many cities. As the parish school was liberally supported in its period of construction and is loyally sustained today, so our higher institutions of learning must now receive the enthusiastic support of the Faithful. Compliance with the requests for donations to maintain and expand our colleges is perhaps the most imperative need of the hour. Catholic students are being turned away by the hundreds from many of our Catholic high schools and colleges merely because no room can be found for them there. Whither are they to go for the education which they have been so earnestly urged to acquire and to secure nowhere else than in a Catholic school? A great problem is now facing us, and we must bend all our energy and display all our generosity to meet it. Canisius College, at Buffalo, recently set the example in the East by going gloriously "over the top" in a million-dollar drive conducted amid unforeseen difficulties. All honor to its splendidly conducted campaign! Holy Cross is now upon the way to another glorious success. Its loyal alumni throughout the country are exceeding the quotas set upon the various sections. Worcester County, Mass., itself, where the college is located, raised \$350,000 in place of the \$150,000 assigned to it. May every other section rise equally to the occasion! It is an opportunity to help nobly towards the accomplishment of one of the most important and apostolic tasks that Catholics can perform today for the spreading of God's Kingdom upon earth, and for the true progress and happiness of our American civilization. Of particular interest among the very first gifts made to the Holy Cross drive was a donation of one-third his senatorial salary by United States Senator David I. Walsh as but a part of his offering to a campaign towards which, as Chairman of its General Executive Committee, he is lavishly contributing his energy, ability and influence.

"The faculty of Holy Cross serve without pay," writes the President of the institution, "and we expect no endowment fund. The amount raised in this campaign will be utilized to open our doors to more students who desire a classical or scientific education, and a Christian education as well, which is our greatest aim." In the meantime Boston College is preparing its drive for \$2,000,000, and Fordham University has just launched a campaign for almost the same sum. Of their successful advance we shall doubtless hear in the near future.

The Church and the Latest "Open-Shop" Drive

THOSE acquainted with the inner factors at work beneath the present industrial situation have long been aware of the systematic efforts that would soon be made at the destruction of trade unionism itself under the covert of the "open shop" plea. The real issue at stake now is not the question merely of the open or closed shop, but of the existence of trade unions themselves. On this issue the Church cannot be neutral. The following is the definite statement given out in a special dispatch to the New York *Herald* by the social department of the Catholic Bishops' Welfare Council:

The "open-shop" drive of certain groups of American employers is becoming so strong that it threatens not only the welfare of the wage earners, but the whole structure of industrial peace and order. Employers sometimes favor the "open-shop" because they do not want to be limited in the employment of men to union members. But the present drive is not of that kind. The evidence shows that in its organized form it is not merely against the closed shop, but against unionism itself, and particularly against collective bargaining. Of what avail is it for workers to be permitted by their employers to become members of unions if the employers will not deal with the unions? The workers might as well join golf clubs as labor unions if the present "open-shop" campaign is successful.

The "open-shop" drive masks under such names as "the American plan," and hides behind the pretense of American freedom. Yet its real purpose is to destroy all effective labor unions, and thus subject the working people to the complete domination of the employers. Should it succeed in the measure that its proponents hope it will thrust far into the ranks of the underpaid, the body of American working people.

There is great danger that the whole nation will be harmed by this campaign of a few groups of strong employers. To aim now at putting into greater subjection the workers in industry is blind and foolhardy. The radical movements and disturbances in Europe ought to hold a lesson for the employers of America. And the voice of the American people ought to be raised in the endeavor to drive this lesson home.

The Church does not approve of every labor union, and there are some against which she expressly warns her children, much less does she approve of all the actions of trade unionists, but her attitude towards labor unionism itself, under the existing social system, is one of undeviating support and protection. This support she will try to make practical in every way that justice and charity suggest.

Permanent Editor for Central Bureau

THE readers of the Catholic press have for years been made acquainted with the Central Society through the press work of its Central Bureau, whose news letters have regularly appeared in Catholic papers throughout the country. These press letters have invariably been both timely and valuable, and often have called attention to matters of the utmost importance to the Church in the United States. During the past twelve years the editorial duties of this bureau were performed by Mr. F. P. Kenkel, K. S. G., who in addition has acted during the last fifteen years as editor-in-chief of the St. Louis Catholic daily *Amerika*. He has now resigned from the latter position to devote his attention exclusively to the work of the Central Bureau, acced-

ing thus to a frequently expressed wish of the Committee on Social Propaganda of the Central Society. By all experts in the field of Catholic social action Mr. Kenkel is recognized as not merely one of the very earliest, but also as one of the most eminent Catholic social leaders in the United States. For years past he has been editor of that ably-conducted social publication, the *Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, which is issued in conjunction with the press work of the Central Bureau. Although nothing of Catholic interest has failed to attract the attention of this organization, as witness for instance its vigorous and continued agitation against the Smith-Towner educational bill, yet its prime object is: "to foster the principles of Christian solidarity and to further Christian Democracy." The latter it defines in the words of Pope Leo XIII as "benevolent Christian action for the welfare of the people."

The Army's Battle Against Illiteracy

A FLOURISHING educational center at Camp Dix, New Jersey, indicates the progress made in the recruit educational work undertaken by the army but a short time ago. Camp Dix is one of a number of educational centers where recruits are taught the three R's. For the foreign born and the native born the army offers an opportunity in elementary training that is the first step in real Americanization. It is due to the efforts of Captain Louis Byrne who originated the recruit educational work at Camp Upton that the army has become an educational factor in this work. While legislatures and societies were passing Americanization resolutions Captain Byrne was establishing the army school at Upton and his pupils were proving to all who were interested in real Americanization that illiteracy could be conquered by a practical educational system. The Upton school as it was perfected by Captain Byrne has served as a model for the other schools at different army posts.

National Children's Book Week

THERE is to be a national Children's Book Week this November to enable parents, educators, librarians and book-sellers to give special attention to the subject of children's reading. Cardinal Gibbons thus endorses this movement:

During the week of November the fifteenth to twentieth, the Children's Book Week is to be observed. I should like to say why I consider this an important and laudable undertaking. It is extremely necessary at this time of shifting ideas and complexity of living that the people of our great nation should early in life, learn to know and appreciate the best that has gone before in the experience and aspirations of the race. They can most easily do this through the medium of books. The importance of good books in the formation of worth-while character and in the stimulus toward lofty ideals can hardly be overestimated. Besides this, cannot great pleasure be derived in later life from acquaintance with the best that has been written in the past? Just as *The Book* is a source of inspiration and power to those who read and study it, so likewise childhood has memories of golden hours spent in exploring the contents of a well-chosen library. While memory dwells largely on the characters and achievements of the heroes and heroines, the will is fired to achieve and the soul is uplifted to serve. A good book is the best of friends—always with you and always the same. Do your part to see that the children you know have well-chosen books from which they may learn the truth and the truth shall make them free.

Not enough attention is given by Catholics to the wealth of really excellent Catholic literature of every kind that is now at their disposal. Many apparently believe that the purchase of a prayer book suffices. Catholic homes should be stocked with the best Catholic books that can be had. There should be books for the young and the old and the habit of reading what is best should be early inculcated by priests, teachers and parents. Here then is an opportunity to make a good beginning.